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SOUTH-WEST TANNA GRAMMAR OUTLINE AND VOCABULARY

John Lynch

1. INTRODUCTION

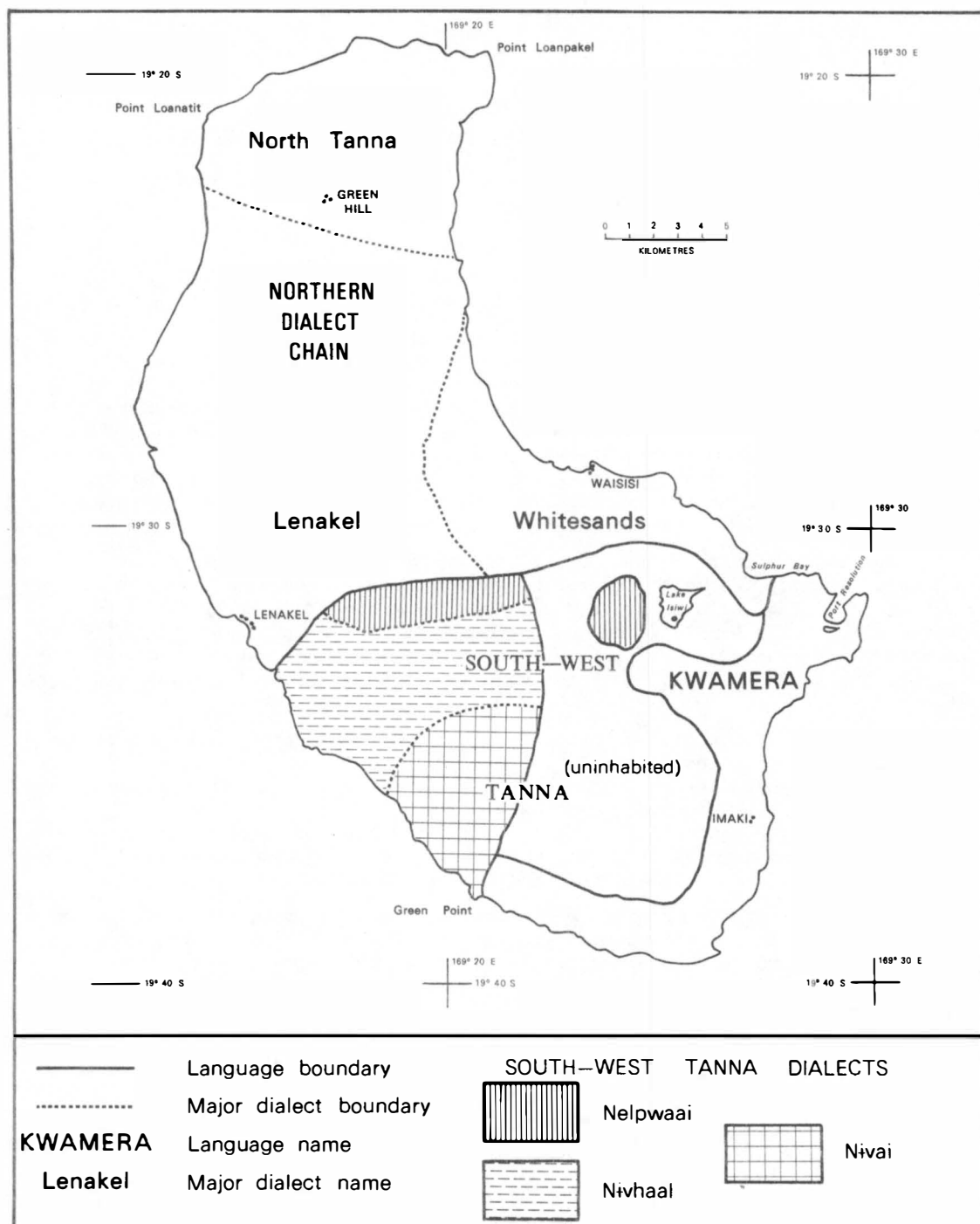
1.1. Location

The South-west Tanna language is spoken by about 1600 people (Tryon 1978:882) in the south-central and south-western region of Tanna, the second most southerly of the islands of Vanuatu. Virtually no published information is available on the language, apart from the numerals 'one' to 'five' in the Numerat, Nerokwang, and Ra'na 'dialects' of Tanna (Ray 1926:141), which bear some resemblance to South-west Tanna, and brief sets of mainly lexical data presented in works dealing with the genetic classification of the languages of the region (Tryon 1976, Lynch 1978a; see also Lynch 1974, which section 6 below supersedes).

The language referred to here as 'the South-west Tanna language' is not perceived as such by the people of Tanna, who recognise three named major dialects. However, from a linguist's point of view these three named speech-traditions are clearly dialects of a single language, and hence the use of the geographically based name for the language as a whole.¹ Although no dialect survey has been attempted, available evidence indicates that the three major dialects are as follows (see Map):

- (1) Nivhaal, spoken in the north-west of the language-area, and bordering on Lenakel to the north;
- (2) Nivai, spoken in the south-west of the language-area, and bordering on Kwamera to the south and east; and
- (3) Nelpwaai,² spoken in the north-east of the language-area where it borders on Whitesands to the north and Kwamera to the south-east, and also in a small pocket immediately to the north of the Nivhaal area.

The degree of internal lexical relationship obtaining among the dialects may be gauged from the following (rounded) figures from Tryon (1976). Lapwangtoai represent the eastern Nelpwaai 'pocket' described above; Imreang represents Nelpwaai 'proper'; Ikiyau is in the Nivhaal area; and Enfitana and Ikiti both represent the Nivai dialect.



Tanna Languages

TABLE I: Cognate percentages
among South-west Tanna communalects

	Imreang	Ikiyau	Enfitana	Ikiti
Lapwangtoai	90	85	81	77
	Imreang	83	80	77
		Ikiyau	80	74
			Enfitana	81

1.2. External relations

South-west Tanna is a member of the Southern Vanuatu (formerly South-Hebridean) subgroup of Oceanic, as established by Lynch (1978a). It shows many lexical, phonological, and grammatical similarities with the other Tanna communalects and, to a lesser extent, with the other members of the subgroup, as a perusal of Lynch (1974, 1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b) will show. Tryon (1976) gives lexicostatistical percentages for the languages of Vanuatu, and some of these may be of interest here. The highest percentage between a South-west Tanna communalect and another Tanna communalect is 68% (Ikiti with Kwamera);³ the lowest, 48% (Ikiti with North Tanna). Outside Tanna but within the subgroup, the figures cluster around 30%. There are no significantly high lexicostatistical relationships with any other Vanuatu language.

The language has no established orthography, and no written material in South-west Tanna is in existence. However, many South-west Tanna speakers would be familiar with one of the three mission languages Lenakel, Whitesands, or Kwamera. These languages, due to the prestige acquired by being written and being used by the missions, have exerted a certain amount of lexical influence on the South-west Tanna dialects: Kwamera influence is strong in Nivai, Lenakel influence in Nivhaal, and Whitesands influence in Nelpwaai.

1.3. Data and organisation

The information on which this outline is based was collected sporadically during five periods of research (1970-78) on the neighbouring and closely related Lenakel language.⁴ Principal informants were, for Nivhaal dialect, Tom Hiua (originally of Iounhanin village) and Misak (Imlau village), and for Nivai dialect, Natou (Ienuhup village). These are men in their fifties or sixties; however, no significant differences were observed between the speech of these men and other members of the speech-community, apart from the greater tendency among younger speakers to use lexical items from Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English).

The Nivhaal dialect forms the basis for this study, partly because, of the three dialects, it seems to have both the greatest number of speakers and the greatest prestige, and partly because I have far more information on that dialect than the others. The general grammatical system of the other dialects approximates that of Nivhaal; where differences are known to exist, these will be pointed out in the text.

My basic aim is to present in outline form the main features of South-west Tanna grammar. I begin with a discussion of the phonological system of the language and the orthography I have established. The next two sections examine morphology and syntax respectively. Two illustrative texts are given in section 5, while section 6 contains a vocabulary of almost eight hundred items, with an English finder list.

1.4. Abbreviations

The following abbreviations will be used in the presentation of South-west Tanna grammar:

ADJ	adjective	IP	instrumental phrase
AG	agentive prefix	LOC	location marker
AND	same-subject prefix	LP	location phrase
ASSOC	associative suffix	MOD	modifier
BENEF	benefactive marker	N	nominal
BP	benefactive phrase	NM	nominal modifier
CAUS	causative marker	NOM	nominaliser
CONC	concurrent prefix	NP	noun phrase
CONT	continuative prefix	NSG	non-singular
CP	causative phrase	NUM	grammatical number marker
DAT	dative marker	OBJ	object
DEM	demonstrative	PF	perfective prefix
DIR	directional suffix	PL	plural
DIR:E	directional: 'east'	POS	possessive marker
DIR:N	directional: 'north'	POS:DRINK	possessive (to be drunk)
DIR:S	directional: 'south'	POS:EAT	possessive (to be eaten)
DIR:W	directional: 'west'	POS:LOC	possessive (location)
DOWN	directional: 'down'	POS:PLANT	possessive (to be planted)
DP	dative phrase	PP	possessive phrase
DU	dual	PR	previous reference
EX	exclusive	PRO	pronoun
FUT	future prefix	PST	past prefix
GEN	general modifier	QTY	quantifier
IDC	indicated	REC	reciprocal suffix
IN	inclusive	REFL	reflexive suffix
INCH	inchoative prefix	SG	singular
IND	indefinite	SQ	sequential prefix
INST	instrumental marker	TEM	temporal marker
INT	intentional prefix	TP	time phrase

TR	trial	3	third person
TRANS	transitive postclitic	-	morpheme boundary
UP	directional: 'up'	:	separates parts of the same gloss
VM	verbal modifier	*	ungrammatical; reconstruction
VP	verb phrase	*?	probably ungrammatical
WH	interrogative	()	optionality
1	first person	!	imperative sentence
2	second person	/	phrase-boundary

2. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The following symbols are used to represent the twenty-one South-west Tanna phonemes: a e f g h i ð k kw l m mw n o p pw r s t u v. The acute accent (') is also used (see sections 2.2. and 2.4. below).

2.1. Consonants

The fifteen South-west Tanna consonant phonemes are given in Table II:⁵

TABLE II: Consonant phonemes					
	Velarised Bilabial	Simple Bilabial	Dento- Alveolar	Velar	Labialised Velar
Stops	pw	p	t	k	kw
Fricatives		f	s		
Nasals	mw	m	n	g	
Lateral			l		
Flap			r		
Glides			v	h	

Stops. The five stops are all lenis. They are only fully voiceless word-finally, when they are also lightly aspirated. In other positions they are at least partly voiced, becoming fully voiced intervocally; e.g.:

(1)	/pwoupwauk/	[b ^w ɔwb ^w ɔwk ^h]	'butterfly'
	/nɪmwapw/	[nɪm ^w ɔpw ^h]	'a sore'
	/pia-katɪt/	[bɪàgɔdɪt ^h]	'girl'
	/tɪpu-k/	[dɪtɪbuk ^h]	'my belly'
	/kɪlkɪlɪp/	[gɔlɪgɔlɪp ^h]	'five'

/kwotavha/	[g ^w ɔ̌ďaɪa]	'heart'
/tukwas/	[dúg ^w α̌s]	'mountain'
/suatukw/	[šwáduk ^w h]	'road'

Fricatives. The phoneme /f/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative with optional velarisation: [p^hɸ^w]. The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless dental grooved fricative: [š].

Nasals. The nasals are all voiced:

(2)	/nenmwan/	[nénm ^w ɔ̌n]	'dew'
	/mana/	[mána]	'bird'
	/kwanagei/	[g ^w anáŋei]	'story'

However, when followed by /h/, the nasal undergoes crasis with the /h/, and the combination results in a voiceless nasal. This can be clearly seen in forms where a nasal-final morpheme precedes a morpheme with initial /h/:

(3)	/i-ak-am-he/	[yaɡáŋei]	'I am blowing'
	/ni-n-hau/	[níŋaw]	'his penis'
	/l-ímn-lel-ig-hie/	[ľímňľeľíŋyɛ]	'where did he return?'

Accordingly, other cases of phonetic voiceless nasals occurring within a morpheme are treated as nasal + /h/:

(4)	/amwha/	[ám ^w ɔ̌]	'to suck'
	/kímhau/	[ǧámaw]	'star'
	/nhag-n/	[ňáŋɔ̌n]	'his name'
	/l-mlagh/	[ľímláŋ]	'it is alive'

Liquids. The flap /r/ is found in Nivhaal and Nelpwaa only in words borrowed from other languages: /írouap̌ig/ 'lightning' (Lenakel írouaip); /purum/ 'broom' (Bislama burum). The lateral /l/ is normally voiced, but it becomes voiceless when it undergoes crasis with a following /h/:

(5)	/l-ílai/	[ľílay]	'he cut it'
	/aalh/	[á̌]	'to laugh'

In the Nivai dialect, /l/ is only found in loans; /r/ is the 'native' liquid, corresponding to /l/ in Nivhaal; Nivai /r/ is a dental flap initially, an alveolar flap medially, and appears to be a lateral fricative finally.

Glides. The glide /v/ is a high central unrounded semivowel [ɨ], which becomes voiceless under the same conditions as the nasals and the liquids (i.e., crasis with following /h/):

(6)	/ívkasi+vkas/	[ð̌ígǎší+gǎš]	'to itch'
	/kavhevhu/	[gǎí+é+aw]	'hat'

The glide /h/ is phonetically [h], and is lost in the devoicing environments discussed above.

2.2. Vowels

The six vowel phonemes of South-west Tanna are given in Table III:⁶

TABLE III: Vowel phonemes			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ɨ	o
Low		a	

The vowel /a/ is generally low, central, unrounded [a]. However, it is backed and slightly rounded [ɔ] when adjacent to either of the velarised labials /pw/ or /mw/, and fronted [a] when preceded by /v/ or /vh/:

- (7)
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| /kwanakau/ | [g ^w anágaw] | 'rib' |
| /kapa-m-kapwa/ | [gàbámgób ^w ɔ] | 'your (sg) head' |
| /nimwa/ | [ním ^w ɔ] | 'house' |
| /kwotavha/ | [g ^w ɔdɔ́tá] | 'heart' |

The vowel /ɨ/ is generally mid, central, unrounded [ɨ], but becomes higher [i] when immediately preceded by a dental or alveolar consonant (i.e. by /t/, /s/, /n/, /l/, /r/ or /v/, or by any of the last four immediately followed by /h/):

- (8)
- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| /ivít/ | [ðítt ^h] | 'to wash something' |
| /ivgín/ | [ðíŋɨn] | 'to eat (intransitive)' |
| /nísín-k/ | [nístínk ^h] | 'my mother' |

The vowel /e/ is generally mid, front, unrounded, lax [ɛ]; however, when preceding /kw/ it is pronounced with a marked [w]-off-glide:

- (9)
- | | | |
|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| /ivtetela-kín/ | [ðíttɛdɛlágɨn] | 'to squeeze' |
| /nekw/ | [nɛ ^w k ^w h] | 'yam' |

The vowel /o/ is mid, back and rounded. It is tense [o] in open syllables (i.e. before a word-boundary, another vowel, or a single consonant followed by a vowel), and lax [ɔ] in closed syllables (i.e. before two consonants or a word-final consonant or glide):

- (10)
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| /amako/ | [amágo] | 'to dance (of women)' |
| /eno-eno/ | [ɛnoéno] | 'crazy' |
| /okwag/ | [óg ^w ɔŋ] | 'to be open' |
| /okwlen/ | [óg ^w lɛn] | 'to call out' |
| /ol/ | [ól] | 'to make, do' |

The vowels /i/ and /u/ are high, front, unrounded, and high, back, rounded, respectively. They are lax [ɪ] and [ʊ] in closed syllables:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| (11) | /tiki-mi-a/ | [d̥gímya] | 'your (pl) skin' |
| | /mwig/ | [m ^w ɪŋ] | 'earthquake' |
| | /numl-n/ | [númɪn] | 'its fur' |
| | /matukw/ | [mádukw ^{wh}] | 'right (hand)' |

In open syllables, they are tense [i] and [u]:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (12) | /ni/ | [ní] | 'to say' |
| | /pwia-k/ | [b ^w íak ^h] | 'my older brother' |
| | /nivɪn/ | [nívɪn] | 'a sail' |
| | /ahu/ | [áhu] | 'to plant' |
| | /lua/ | [lúa] | 'to vomit' |
| | /alu-kɪn/ | [alúgəɪn] | 'to forget' |

Except in words of the form #C(h)iV(C)# or #C(h)uV(C)# – like /pwia-k/ and /lua/ in (12) above – these vowels normally become glides [y] and [w] when adjacent to another vowel:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|----------------------|--------------|
| (13) | /ipwia/ | [ɔb ^w ya] | 'smooth' |
| | /ɪlai/ | [ɔlay] | 'to cut' |
| | /napua/ | [nábwɑ] | 'cloud' |
| | /nauga/ | [náwŋɑ] | 'meat, fish' |

These resultant glides undergo crasis with a preceding or following /h/ and become voiceless in this environment:

- | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------------|-----------|
| (14) | /ehiag/ | [éyaŋ] | 'breathe' |
| | /hueihuaa/ | [wɛy ^w á] | 'quick' |

When two high vowels occur together, the one adjacent to any other (i.e. non-high) vowel becomes a glide. If there is no other vowel in the environment, then the first of the two becomes a glide:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| (15) | /aiu/ | [áyu] | 'to flow' |
| | /iliu/ | [ílyu] | 'they (dual)' |
| | /iapiuan/ | [yabíwan] | 'river' |

Geminate high vowel clusters do not undergo this rule (see 2.4. below). Exceptions to the rule are marked with an acute accent:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------|------------------|
| (16) | /nɪsíu/ | [nɪsíu] | 'lake' |
| | /kapa-m-kúa/ | [gáɓamgúɑ] | 'your (sg) anus' |

2.3. Phonotactics

Phonetically, South-west Tanna words may not begin or end with a consonant cluster, although they may begin with consonant + [y] or [w] and may end with [y] or [w] + consonant. Medially, clusters of up to two non-vowels are permitted:

- | | | | |
|------|------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| (17) | /matukw/ | [mádukw ^{wh}] | 'right (hand)' |
| | /oklhekɪn/ | [ɔgléɪgəɪn] | 'to turn' |
| | /suatukw/ | [s ^w ádukw ^{wh}] | 'road' |
| | /maul/ | [máwl] | 'left (hand)' |

In words where, due to compounding of morphemes, two consonants would otherwise come together initially or finally, [ə] is inserted between them.⁷ (This becomes [ɨ] if the preceding consonant is alveolar.

- (18) /l-vi/ [lɨʔi] 'he pulls it'
 /lɨm-k/ [lɨməkʰ] 'my father'

Similarly, if three consonants come together medially as a result of compounding of morphemes, [ə] (or [ɨ]) is inserted between the second and the third:

- (19) /asokw-plaah/ [əsəkʷbəláh] 'to go south'
 /l-ɨmn-gɨn/ [lɨmnɨgən] 'he was afraid'

Apart from these strictures, there appear to be no restrictions on the combinations of consonants.

It should perhaps be noted here that many South-west Tanna nouns begin with /n/ plus a following vowel. This is historically derivable from a Proto-Oceanic article *na, which has fused with the noun root so that it can not normally be separated. Many such nouns are listed in the vocabulary in section 6 with initial nɨ-, and in some of these cases it is clear that this /ɨ/ is not part of the root but merely an epenthetic vowel: compare, for example, nɨvhillik 'grass' with mwɨvhillik 'grass'. Clearly, in a case like this the underlying form of the noun is nvhillik, and /ɨ/ is inserted by regular rule between /n/ and /v/ when, and only when, this cluster occurs word-initially. In many other lexical items, however, it is difficult or impossible to determine whether the /ɨ/ in this context is part of the underlying form or is epenthetic; as far as lexical listing is concerned, my policy has been to include the /ɨ/ in the word as if it was part of the underlying form unless there is good reason not to.

The combinations of phonemic vowels in South-west Tanna are limited. Geminate vowel clusters occur, and more will be said about them in the next section. Certain clusters of non-identical vowels also occur, and the observed clusters are given below in Table IV; an asterisk indicates non-occurrence.

TABLE IV: Vowel clusters							
		second vowel					
first vowel		i	e	ɨ	a	o	u
	i	ii	ie	iɨ	ia	io	iu
	e	ei	ee	*	ea	*	eu
	ɨ	*	*	ɨɨ	*	*	*
	a	ai	*	*	aa	*	au
	o	oi	*	*	oa	oo	ou
	u	ui	ue	uɨ	ua	uo	uu

It is clear from Table IV that /ɨ/ is quite restricted in its distribution, never occurring as the first member of a non-geminate cluster, and only occurring as the second member after /i/ and /u/.⁸ No non-geminate clusters of mid + mid or low + mid may occur; otherwise (with the exception of /ɨ/), any vowel may occur in a cluster with a high vowel, and clusters of mid + low are also acceptable.

2.4. Stress

Stress rules operate after the rules which insert epenthetic [ə] or [ɪ] and which form glides from high vowels. Primary stress normally falls on the vowel of a monosyllable and on the penultimate vowel of a polysyllable:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (20) | /vɪn/ | [ɪ̃fn] | 'to go' |
| | /ilu/ | [ɔ̃lu] | 'to be deaf' |
| | /nɪpwana-k/ | [nɪbʷɔ̃nəkʰ] | 'my forehead' |
| | /tupnhel-k/ | [dubnɛ̃lɪkʰ] | 'my lip' |
| | /euaɪu/ | [ɛwɔ̃ɪu] | 'to descend' |

Words containing geminate vowel clusters, however, receive stress on that cluster:

- | | | | |
|------|------------|------------|-------------|
| (21) | /hueihuaa/ | [wɛyɔ̃wɔ̃] | 'quick' |
| | /nɪklee-n/ | [nɪglɛ̃n] | 'his chest' |
| | /ɪspiil/ | [ɔ̃sbɪl] | 'to clean' |

Exceptions to these rules have the stressed vowel marked with an acute accent:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| (22) | /nɪamha/ | [nɪɑ̃ma] | 'anger' |
| | /avkɪkɪn/ | [ɑ̃ɪgɔ̃gɪn] | 'to drag' |

In nouns, every alternate syllable to the left of the primary-stressed vowel, including cases of [ə] or [ɪ] inserted between clustering consonants, receives secondary stress:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| (23) | /nɪpwag-nhig-n/ | [nɪbʷɔ̃nɪgɪn] | 'his nose' |
| | /nɪmwa-tivhata/ | [nɪmʷɔ̃dɪɪɔ̃dɔ̃] | 'table, shelf' |
| | /nukwanee-k/ | [nɔ̃gʷanɛ̃kʰ] | 'my hair' |
| | /nɪkɪlkɪlii-k/ | [nɪgɔ̃lɪgɔ̃lɪkʰ] | 'my bone(s)' |

In verbs and adjectives, the initial syllable receives secondary stress, as does each alternate syllable to the right of the initial syllable, except that the syllable preceding the primary-stressed syllable is always unstressed:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| (24) | /n-akn-oklhekɪn/ | [nɑ̃gnɔ̃gɪɛ̃gɪn] | 'you (sg) have turned' |
| | /l-ɪmn-asokw-pihɪu/ | [lɪmnɑ̃sɔ̃gʷbɪɪu] | 'he went north' |
| | /l-ɪmn-elɪuok-pihɪu/ | [lɪmnɛ̃lɪwɔ̃gbɪɪu] | 'he walked north' |
| | /n-akn-lh-elɪuok-pihɪu/ | [nɑ̃gnɪlɛ̃lɪwɔ̃gbɪɪu] | 'you (tr) have walked north' |

The remarks above apply to the Nɪvhaal dialect, the basis for this study. As far as information is available, they seem to hold true for Nelpwaaɪ as well. However, in the Nɪvai dialect, primary stress occurs on the final syllable much more frequently than in any other Tanna speech-tradition. The data are not sufficient to allow any general statement to be made at this stage; however, suffixes tend to attract final stress, as do final syllables containing vowel + glide. In addition, many more words not fitting these descriptions receive final stress, where the corresponding word in Nɪvhaal is stressed on the penult; but there are sufficient cases of penultimate stress in Nɪvai to make it difficult to formulate any generalisations without further data. It may well be that a rule of stress-movement from penult to final syllable is in operation in Nɪvai.

3. MORPHOLOGY

Four major word classes are recognised in South-west Tanna: verbs, nominals, modifiers, and adjectives.⁹ Verbal morphology in particular is extensive, and close attention will be paid in this section to the morphology of each of these word classes.

3.1. Verbs

With the exception of the singular imperative, verbs in South-west Tanna are morphologically complex. Verb morphology is far more complicated than the morphology of other word classes, with a verb being able to take up to seven ranks of prefixes and three ranks of suffixes, all forming a single phonological word. Person-of-subject, number-of-subject, and various tenses, aspects, and modes are indicated by prefixes; transitivity, direction, reciprocity, and some other features are indicated by suffixes. Verbs also appear to be historically 'basic' in South-west Tanna; by this I mean that, although there are regular derivational processes by which nouns, for example, are derived from verbs, there seems to be no way in which verbs are derived from other word classes.

Most verbs in South-west Tanna, as in other languages in the region, begin with a vowel, and especially a non-high vowel. Table V shows the proportion of verbs with particular initial phonemes based on the contents of the vocabulary in section 6.

TABLE V: Verb-initial phonemes				
Initial phoneme	Verbs		All lexical items	
	No. of cases	Percentage	No. of cases	Percentages
/a/	87	37.7	114	15.1
/e/	31	11.7	38	5.0
/i/	4	1.5	55	7.3
/ɨ/	41	15.5	46	6.1
/o/	25	9.4	27	3.6
/u/	8	3.0	14	1.8
any consonant	69	26.0	463	61.2

This initial vowel appears to be an historical accretion, and may well have been a verb-formative of some sort in an earlier stage of the language. A comparison of some South-west Tanna verbs with the corresponding Proto-Oceanic forms show this clearly.¹⁰

(1)	Proto-Oceanic	South-west Tanna	
	*doŋo	ɨlɨŋ	'hear'
	*toka	ala	'stay'
	*tuqud	alel	'stand'

Proto-Oceanic	South-west Tanna	
*mapo	amiv	'heal'
*masakit	imha	'be sick'
*paqan	ivgin	'eat'

Such initial vowels are part of the verb root in the modern language, and the process (whatever it was) is no longer productive. However, it will be seen below that the nature of the initial phoneme of the root is relevant to the conditioning of allomorphs of certain verbal prefixes.

3.1.1. Verbal affixes (declarative mode)

The various affixes which may be attached to the verb root in a declarative clause are given in Table VI. In that table, parenthesised categories are optional, while other categories are obligatory. Co-occurrence restrictions or requirements are noted in the text. The order of affix-classes as given in the table is fixed (although there is some possibility of permutation among suffixes: cf. 3.1.1.10 below). The allomorphs of each morpheme are bracketed together, with the first allomorph being the base form.

3.1.1.1. Intentional prefix. The intentional prefix na- (INT) is optional, and in any case is extremely rare in South-west Tanna, as are its cognates in other Tanna communalects. I have only observed one occurrence in free text (given below as (2)), other occurrences being as a result of formal elicitation using a verb with the cognate Lenakel form na- (which is also rare in text). The intentional prefix must be followed by the future prefix, and it indicates that the subject is prepared, ready, or in some cases about to carry out the action:

- (2) Nivaru na-tukw-l-ni-pin tukw Nula...
Nivaru INT-FUT-3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT Nula
'Nivaru made ready to say to Nula...'
- (3) na-t-i-ak-eliuok
 INT-FUT-LEX-CONC-walk
'I am ready/about to walk'

3.1.1.2. Future prefix. The future prefix t- (FUT) is optional, and indicates that at least part of the action or state to which the verb refers will take place in the future.

This prefix must co-occur with one of the two tense/aspect prefixes ak-CONC or epi- SQ (see 3.1.1.5.). When used with ak-, the futurity of the action is immediate; the actor is about to start the action at or soon after the moment of speaking:

- (4) t-i-ak-ivgin
 FUT-LEX-CONC-eat
'I'm going to eat'
- (5) t-i-ak-s-eliuok m-s-aa
 FUT-LEX-CONC-PL-walk AND-PL-go
'We'll be going', 'We'll set off now'

TABLE VI: Verbal affixes (declarative mode)

(Inten- tional)	(Future)	Person of Subject	Tense/aspect	(Continu- ative)	Number of Subject	Root	(Directional)	(Referential)	(Transitive)
na-	t- tukw- tu- }	k- } 1IN Ø- } i- 1EX n- } 2 Ø- } l- } 3SG Ø- } k- } 3NSG Ø- } m- AND	ak- } uk- } CONC Ø- } epi- } SQ pi- } imn- } emn- } PST im } em- } akuan- } akua- } uan- } PF ua- } akn- } n- } akn- } n- } INCH	am- } a- }	u- } DU la- } lh- TR s- } PL ha- }		-pwa DIR:1 -pna DIR:2 -pin DIR:3 -pihiu } DIR:N -fiu } -plaah DIR:S -vhiaak DIR:E -vila DIR:W -hakta DIR:UP -iehou DIR: DOWN	-kwis ASSOC -atukw { REC REFL	-kin } TRANS -ki }

When used with *epi-* a more remote future is indicated:

- (6) t-Ø-*epi-ol*
FUT-2-SQ-*do*
'You will do it (later on)'
- (7) t-i-*epi-s-eliuok m-s-aa*
FUT-1EX-SQ-PL-*walk* AND-PL-*go*
'We'll have to go off (sooner or later)'

When immediately followed by the third person singular prefix *l-*, the future prefix has the allomorph *tukw-*:

- (8) *tukw-l-epi-ɪlai kwanmɪlh*
FUT-3SG-SQ-*cut citrus*
'He will cut the lemon/orange (later)'

Before the first person inclusive prefix *k-* and the homophonous third person non-singular prefix, the allomorph *tu-* is used (*ak-* CONC having a zero allomorph in this environment, as discussed in 3.1.1.5. below):

- (9) *tu-k-Ø-lh-aam lɪm-n*
FUT-3NSG-CONC-TR-*see father*-3SG
'The three of them will see his father'

3.1.1.3. Person-of-subject prefixes. There are five prefixes marking the person of the subject, and every verb in the declarative mode must take one of these prefixes (or the prefix *m-* which is discussed in 3.1.1.4.). The five person-of-subject prefixes are:¹¹

- k-* first person inclusive (1IN)
- i-* first person exclusive (1EX)
- n-* second person (2)
- l-* third person singular (3SG)
- k-* third person non-singular (3NSG)

Each of these marks the person of the subject of the sentence:

- (10) (*kɪtaua*) *k-ɪm-s-aan nekw mufaam*
(*we:IN:PL*) 1IN-PST-PL-*eat yam* all
'We ate all the yams'
- (11) (*iou*) *i-ak-am-nɪm*
(*I*) 1EX-CONC-CONT-*drink*
'I am drinking'
- (12) (*iik*) *n-ak-am-gɪn*
(*you:SG*) 2-CONC-CONT-*fear*
'You are afraid'
- (13) *pilavɪn kɪliik l-Ø-am-asim*
woman DEM:IND 3SG-CONC-CONT-garden
'A woman is gardening'
- (14) (*ilisɪl*) *k-ɪm-lh-lɪh kamaam tɪksɪn*
(*they:TR*) 3NSG-PST-TR-*carry fish* some
'The three of them carried some fish'

In certain environments, some of these prefixes are lost (i.e. they have zero allomorphs). First, the prefix *n-* 2 is lost when preceded by the future prefix *t-*; thus:

t-n-ak- > t-ak-
t-n-epi- > t-epi-

For example:

- (15) t-Ø-epi-ol
FUT-2-SQ-do
'You will do it'

Second, the homophonous prefixes k- 1EX and k- 3NSG have zero allomorphs when they occur between the future allomorph tu- and the sequential tense/aspect marker epi-; further, the first vowel of epi- is lost in this context; thus:

tu-k-epi > tu-pi-

For example:

- (16) pilavin mina tu-Ø-pi-s-ivgin
woman PL FUT-3NSG-SQ-PL-eat
'The women will eat later'

Third, the prefix l- 3SG may optionally be deleted before the inchoative aspect marker and before one allomorph of the perfective marker. This is discussed in more detail in section 3.1.1.5. below.

3.1.1.4. Switch-reference. A feature of the whole Southern Vanuatu subgroup is the occurrence of a prefix which functions in the same way as a person marker in conjoined clauses. Generally speaking, when the subject of the verb in the conjoined clause(s) is the same as the subject of the verb in the first clause, the verb in the conjoined clause does *not* take one of the person-of-subject prefixes discussed in the previous section, but instead takes the prefix m- (glossed here as AND):¹²

- (17) l-hakta m-ikel ie kwalkwau
3SG-go:up AND-hang LOC ridgepole
'He went up and hung on the ridgepole'
- (18) k-u-aiu m-la-si-vhiaak
3NSG-DU-run AND-DU-come:from-DIR:E
'The two of them ran from the east'

This prefix may also be used in certain circumstances when the subjects of the two conjoined verbs are *not* identical. In all such cases, however, the subjects must be of different numbers, so that the correct subject can be identified from among the available choices. For example, the following sentence occurs in a text where one man and two women are the central participants (see 5.2. below):

- (19) l-eivi napwɪl kɪni m-lh-aulu-pin
3SG-pull wall and AND-TR-enter-DIR:3
'He pulled out the wall and the three of them went inside'

The two verbs in this sentence contain different number markers; this sufficiently disambiguates the subjects involved, since the subject of eivi is singular (and therefore, through context, the man) while the subject of aulu is marked as trial (and must thus refer to the man and the two women).

When the number of the subjects of both verbs is identical, however, m- AND has the same referent as the previous subject, and may refer to no other NP: thus in (20),

- (20) natou l-ɪmn-aam magau m-epi-aiu
 Natou 3SG-PST-see Magau AND-SQ-run
 'Natou saw Magau and (then) ran'

since the two verbs are the same number, it must be the subject of the previous verb, Natou, which is the subject of aiu 'run'. If it was Magau who ran, (20) is unacceptable; instead, (21) would be used:

- (21) natou l-ɪmn-aam magou l-epi-aiu
 Natou 3SG-PST-see Magau 3SG-SQ-run
 'Natou saw Magau and Magau (then) ran'

Note further that (21) is also unambiguous: it can only be Magau who did the running. Thus m- AND is not merely a stylistic variation, a narrative shortcut, but must be used in the circumstances described above. (This rule, however, is strictly true only of third person subjects. With non-third person subjects, there seems to be more flexibility, as will be seen in example (29) in the next section.)

3.1.1.5. Tense/aspect prefixes. Prefixes marking the tense and aspect of the verb follow the person prefixes and are normally obligatory, though, as has already been pointed out, they may be deleted under certain conditions in narrative discourse. The base forms of the South-west Tanna tense/aspect prefixes are given below:

ak-	concurrent aspect (CONC)
epi-	sequential aspect (SQ)
ɪmn-	past tense (PST)
akuan-	perfective aspect (PF)
akn-	inchoative (INCH)

The prefix marking CONCURRENT ASPECT marks an action as either taking place or being planned at the time of speaking, or as habitual. In the former sense it may be used with the future prefix t-, in which case it marks the action as taking place in the immediate future (see 3.1.1.2.). When used without the future prefix, it marks a present tense, and in this case it appears very frequently with the continuative prefix am-:

- (22) kɪmaua i-ak-s-aan nekw
 we:EXC:PL 1EX-CONC-PL-eat yam
 'We eat yam'
- (23) t-i-ak-ua ie hospɪtɪl nɪpɪg t-i-ak-ɪmha
 FUT-1EX-CONC-come LOC hospital time FUT-1EX-CONC-sick
 'I (will) come to the hospital when I am sick'
- (24) n-ak-am-aan nekw na-k
 2-CONC-CONT-eat yam POS:EAT-1SG
 'You are eating my yam/yams'

This prefix is lost after l- 3SG, k- 1IN, and k- 3NSG:

- (25) nehen l-∅-am-uh alɪsɪl
 rain 3SG-CONC-CONT-strike they:TR:OBJ
 'The rain comes down on the three of them'
- (26) tukw-l-∅-ua
 FUT-3SG-CONC-come
 'He will come'

- (27) nime lenitim k-Ø-s-aan nitel
 people Aneityum 3NSG-CONC-PL-eat taro
 'The Aneityumese eat taro'

When followed by the dual allomorph u-, in the first person exclusive future only, ak- has the allomorph uk-; i.e.

t-i-ak-u > t-i-uk-u-

For example:

- (28) kimlu t-i-uk-u-ivgin
 we:EXC:DU FUT-LEX-CONC-DU-eat
 'We two will eat'

The major use of the prefix marking SEQUENTIAL ASPECT has already been discussed: its function, together with the future prefix, of marking a remote future (section 3.1.1.2.). However, epi- may also occur without the future prefix t-. In these cases it indicates that the action of the verb to which it is prefixed follows in sequence from the action of the previous verb:

- (29) i-emn-avın ie lukwanu kafa-m, kwasig i-epi-vın ie lukwanu
 1EX-PST-go LOC village POS-2SG, afterwards 1EX-SQ-go LOC village
 kape lim-k
 POS father-1SG
 '(First) I went to your place, and then I went to my father's place'

It is thus often used in conditional sentences (see 4.4.2.8. below):

- (30) kipimah nehen l-p nitv, i-epi-vhe-kin nakwokwa
 if rain 3SG-rain yesterday, 1EX-SQ-read-TRANS book
 'If it had rained yesterday, (then) I would have read a book'

We have already seen above (3.1.1.3.) that epi- has an allomorph pi- in the future when preceded by k- 1IN or k- 3NSG; i.e.

tu-k-epi- > tu-pi-

The prefix imn- marks PAST TENSE. It has the allomorph im- in the non-singular, and also in the singular before a verb with initial n. When immediately following the LEX prefix i-, imn- and im- become emn- and em-. This prefix marks a simple past:

- (31) l-im-ni ...
 3SG-PST-say
 'He said ...'
- (32) i-emn-aam kilhiavın kiliik nitv
 1EX-PST-see shark DEM:IND yesterday
 'I saw a shark yesterday'
- (33) l-imn-aan nekw na-i kwan ai
 3SG-PST-eat yam POS:EAT-POS fellow DEM:PR
 'He ate that fellow's yam/yams'
- (34) k-im-ha-lıh nitip
 3NSG-PST-TR-carry basket
 'They carried the baskets'

The prefix akuan- marks PERFECTIVE ASPECT: thus it marks stative in the case of adjectives, and it marks an action as having been completed. It occurs frequently with the verbal modifier (see section 3.3) ta 'already finished'.

This prefix is also allomorphically complex: the /ak/ portion is lost in the same environments where ak- CONC has zero allomorphs, but further changes also occur, and these are best summarised in chart form:

Before consonants, /i/, /u/		Before vowels	
(all numbers)		singular	non-singular
1IN	ua-		uan-
1EX	akua-	akn-	akuan-
2	akua-	akn-	akuan-
3	ua-	n-	uan-

Two points should be noted here. First, 1- 3SG is sometimes deleted before the allomorph n-. Second, the singular prevocalic forms are phonologically identical with the allomorphs of the inchoative prefix (see below); when these are used, the presence of the modifier ta 'already' is obligatory in the verb phrase to indicate perfective aspect.

- (35) iliu k-uan-u-ivgɪn ta
they:DU 3NSG-PF-DU-eat already
'The two of them have (already) eaten'
- (36) mana l-ua-iva ta
bird 3SG-PF-fly already
'The bird has flown (away)'
- (37) i-akua-gɪn ta
1EX-PF-fear already
'I was afraid'
- (38) k-ua-s-hai pukah
3NSG-PF-PL-stab pig
'They stabbed the pig'
- (39) Ø-n-ehua or l-n-ehua
3SG-PF-big 3SG-PF-big
'It is big'
- (40) n-akn-eliuok ta
2-PF-walk already
'You have already walked'
- (41) Ø-n-eliuok ta or l-n-eliuok ta
3SG-PF-walk already 3SG-PF-walk already
'He has walked'

The INCHOATIVE ASPECT prefix akn- marks an action as having just begun. It has the allomorph n- when preceded by k- 1IN, k- 3NSG, and l- 3SG, the last of which may be deleted in this environment.

- (42) i-akn-am-ivgɪn
1EX-INCH-CONT-eat
'I have just begun eating'

The inchoative, perhaps along with the sequential without future t-, is the least frequently used of these tense/aspect markers.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that tense/aspect markers may be deleted in discourse. This is particularly true in narrative texts, where, although the whole action is set in the past, very few verbs take the past tense prefix. Generally, the rule seems to be that if the context (whether in a continuous text or in conversation) makes the tense/aspect of the action or state clear, then the prefix can be dispensed with. We will touch upon this subject in later sections.

3.1.1.6. Continuative prefix. The continuative prefix *am-* (CONT) marks continuous aspect. Its use is optional, but it occurs quite commonly with the concurrent, past and inchoative tense/aspect markers, although it is rarely observed following the sequential or perfective prefixes.

- (43) *iou i-ak-am-ivgɪn pukah*
 I 1EX-CONC-CONT-feed pig
 'I am feeding the pig/pigs'

- (44) *kovamtɪmta l-Ø-am-apɪl*
 child 3SG-CONC-CONT-sleep
 'The child is sleeping'

- (45) *n-ɪmn-am-eliuok*
 2-PST-CONT-walk
 'You (sg) were walking'

- (46) *l-n-am-lɪh*
 3SG-INCH-CONT-carry
 'He has begun to carry it'

There is an allomorph *a-* which is found before the number-marking allomorphs *la-* DU, *lh-* TR, and *s-* PL, though not before *u-* DU and *ha-* PL; compare (47) with (48):

- (47) *i-akn-am-ha-vɪn*
 1EX-INCH-CONT-PL-go
 'We have begun to go'

- (48) *i-akn-a-lh-vɪn*
 1EX-INCH-CONT-TR-go
 'We three have begun to go'

or (49) with (50):

- (49) *k-Ø-am-u-eliuok*
 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-walk
 'They two are walking'

- (50) *k-Ø-a-la-gɪn*
 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-fear
 'They two are afraid'

The allomorph *a-* also occurs immediately preceding an *m-*initial verb (though not before a verb with any other initial consonant):

- (51) *l-Ø-a-mɪl*
 3SG-CONC-CONT-fall
 'It is falling'

3.1.1.7. Number-of-subject prefixes. Apart from the distinction between 1- 3SG and k- 3NSG, the person prefixes mark only the person of the subject and not its number. There is a separate set of prefixes marking number of the subject, and these are obligatory in South-west Tanna verbs (except in the impersonal construction to be discussed in 3.1.1.8. below). Singular number is unmarked; the other number prefixes, together with their allomorphs, are:

Verb-initial phoneme	Dual	Trial	Plural
/h/, non-high vowels	u-	lh-	s-
high vowels, consonants	la-	lh-	ha-

The trial prefix has a single allomorph, lh-, in all environments. The conditioning environment for DU and PL is the initial phoneme of the verb. High vowels group with consonants since they are subject to glide-formation rules (see 2.3 above) and are thus phonetic consonants in many cases in this environment. The reason for /h/ grouping with the non-high vowels is not clear.¹³ Verbs with initial /h/ show an additional peculiarity, in that the dual prefix u- metathesises with the initial /h/ of the verb: thus underlying i-ak-am-u-hai 'we two are stabbing it' is phonetically [yagámway] (from underlying /iakamhuai/) and not *[yagámúhay].

Dual refers to two and only two actors, and trial to three and only three. Plural refers to four or more actors, and the plural marker can not be used if the number of actors is known to be less than four; however, the plural is the appropriate prefix to use if the exact number is not known.

- (52) iliu k-ím-u-alel
 they:DU 3NSG-PST-DU-stand
 'The two of them stood up'
- (53) piamil k-Ø-a-la-kwasig-kín
 woman:DU 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-follow-TRANS
 'The two women are following him'
- (54) t-i-ak-lh-ivgín
 FUT-1EX-CONC-TR-eat
 'The three of us will eat'
- (55) kílau tu-Ø-pi-am-ha-vín
 we:IN:PL FUT-1IN-SQ-CONT-PL-go
 'We will be going (later)'
- (56) i-émn-s-helapu
 1EX-PST-PL-blow:fire
 'We blew the fire'
- (57) t-Ø-ak-s-aam nakwokwa
 FUT-2-CONC-PL-see book
 'You will (all) see the book'

3.1.1.8. The impersonal construction. There is one context in which number prefixes must be dispensed with, and that is in the impersonal construction. This construction uses the person prefix k- 3NSG without further specification of number, to indicate the equivalent of passive-without-agent; fronting of the object NP is common in these cases:

- (58) nai k-ímn-ílai ienpíg
 tree 3NSG-PST-cut night
 'The tree was cut down during the night'
- (59) k-uán-ol ta
 3NSG-PF-do already
 'It has already been done'

3.1.1.9. Directional suffixes. Directional suffixes (DIR) are optional in the South-west Tanna verb, in that not all verbs take them, and many verbs may or may not take them. Three verbs, however, require a directional suffix: one is *vha-* 'to give', which will be discussed below; the other two are two verbs of motion — *asok-* 'to go in the direction specified by the suffix', and *si-* 'to come from the direction specified by the suffix'. Many other verbs which involve motion of some kind may take a directional suffix; verbs like *vin* 'to go', and *ua* 'to come', however, may not take a directional suffix — that is, such suffixes are redundant because the direction of motion is already explicit in the semantics of such verbs.

The South-west Tanna directional suffixes may be conveniently divided into three groups. The first group involves direction in relation to the participants in the speech-act:

- pwa towards speaker (DIR:1)
- pna towards addressee (DIR:2)
- pin away from both speaker, and addressee (DIR:3)

These may be illustrated as follows:

- (60) *l-im-ni-pwa...*
 3SG-PST-say-DIR:1
 'He said to me ...'
- (61) *tukw-l-Ø-lih nek m-vin m-am-itu-pin*
 FUT-3SG-CONC-carry yam AND-go AND-CONT-put-DIR:3
 'He will take the yams and put them there'

The verb *vha-* 'to give' must take one of these directionals:

- (62) *t-i-ak-vha-pna mana kilik*
 FUT-1SG-CONC-give-DIR:2 fowl DEM:IND
 'I will give you a chicken'
- (63) *t-Ø-ak-vha-pwa*
 FUT-2-CONC-give-DIR:1
 'You will give it to me'

The second set of directional suffixes refers to specific, compass-type directions:¹⁴

- pihiu northwards (DIR:N)
- plaah southwards (DIR:S)
- vhiaak eastwards (DIR:E)
- vila westwards (DIR:W)

(The suffix *-pihiu* has an allomorph *-fiu* when preceded by a vowel.) These suffixes are used most commonly after the directional verbs *asokw-* 'to go to' and *si-* 'to come from':

- (64) *pilavin l-imn-asokw-vila ie tahik*
 woman 3SG-PST-go:to-DIR:W LOC sea
 'The woman went (westwards) to/into the sea'
- (65) *k-u-aiu m-la-si-vhiaak m-la-ua*
 3NSG-DU-run AND-DU-come:from-DIR:E AND-DU-come
 'The two of them came running from the east'

The third set of directional suffixes indicate direction upwards (also southwards) and downwards (also northwards):

- hakta *upwards* (DIR:UP)
 -iehou *downwards* (DIR:DOWN)

For example:

- (66) l-n-asokw-iehou ta
 3SG-PF-go:to-DIR:DOWN *already*
'He has already gone down (or, gone north)'

3.1.1.10. Referential suffixes. In this set are two suffixes which refer back in some way to the subject. The two suffixes are:

- kwis together, in association (ASSOC)
 -atukw {reciprocal (REC)
 reflexive (REFL)

I have no examples of combinations of directional and referential suffixes; if the evidence from Lenakel (Lynch 1978b:42) is anything to go by, the ordering of these two sets of suffixes in relation to each other is probably not particularly strict.

The associative suffix -kwis indicates that the referents of the subject carry out the action of the verb together, in concert or association:

- (67) kimlu tion t-i-uk-u-ivg+n-kwis
 we:EX:DU John FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-eat-ASSOC
'John and I will eat together'

The suffix -atukw has two, closely related, functions. It indicates that the action of the verb is reflexive:

- (68) l-+mn-uh-atukw
 3SG-PST-hit-REFL
'He hit himself'

and it also indicates reciprocity:

- (69) iliu k-Ø-am-u-olkeikei-atukw`
 they:DU 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-like-REC
'The two of them like each other'

Neither -kwis nor -atukw occurs with any frequency in South-west Tanna.

3.1.1.11. Transitive postclitic. The transitive marker -k+n (TRANS) is in fact a postclitic and not a suffix; it occurs verb phrase-finally. However, in the large majority of verb phrases, this also means that it is verb-final; hence, I include it here among the suffixes. As will be seen in section 4.3. below, some verbs require the transitive postclitic -k+n (which is -k+n ~ -k+ before a consonant) when followed by an object NP, while others do not. Below are examples of verbs which require -k+n TRANS:

- (70) piamil k-a-la-kwas+g-k+n kwan ai
 woman:DU 3NSG-CONT-DU-follow-TRANS fellow DEM:PR
'The two women were following the man'
- (71) i-ak-am-g+n-k+n kuli
 1EX-CONC-CONT-fear-TRANS dog
'I am frightened of dogs'

A number of verbs seem to have fused the transitive suffix, and always appear with it, even in citation. Examples are:

- (72) alukin 'to throw'
 avhekin 'to count, read'
 iłkwilkin 'to (cause to) drown'
 oklhekın 'to turn around'
 avhlekin 'to turn over'

These verbs never appear without the final /kɨn/, and it is a moot point as to whether this /kɨn/ should be analysed as a transitive suffix or as a historical suffix which has fused with the root. For the purposes of presentation, I have taken the decision to gloss /kɨn/ in verbs such as those above as the transitive suffix in example sentences in the grammar; in the vocabulary list, however, /kɨn/ is written as part of the verb: thus alu-kɨn (*throw*-TRANS) in the grammar, but alukin in the vocabulary.

3.1.2. Verbal affixes (interrogative mode)

The structure of questions in South-west Tanna is discussed in section 4.4.1.2. below. As will be seen there, most questions use an interrogative form in one of the NPs of the sentence, or use the conjunction *ua* 'or' without a following clause; in these two cases, verbs use the same range of affixes as in the declarative mode. However, other questions use verbal affixes which are restricted to the interrogative mode. There are two such affixes.

One of these is the directional suffix -hie DIR:WH. This occurs in the same position as the directional suffixes discussed in 3.1.1.9., and may be suffixed to the same range of verbs as those suffixes:

- (73) n-ak-am-asokw-hie?
 2-CONC-CONT-go:to-DIR:WH
 'Where are you going?'

The other interrogative affix is the prefix hau- WH, which occurs between the continuative and number-of-subject prefixes. It is generally used when the speaker is asking the reason for an action:

- (74) l-Ø-am-hau-aan kamaam?
 3SG-CONC-CONT-WH-eat fish
 'Why is he eating fish?'
- (75) n-ak-am-hau-eliuok?
 2-CONC-CONT-WH-walk
 'Why are you walking?'

With verbs of specific motion, however, it may be used to ask for the direction as well as the reason of motion.¹⁵

- (76) t-Ø-ak-hau-vɨn
 FUT-2-CONC-WH-go
 'Where are you going?', 'Why are you going?'

3.1.3. Verbal affixes (imperative mode)

There are no sets of affixes which are used only in the imperative mode. Indeed, the imperative mode uses rather fewer affixes than other modes.

Intentional, future, person-of-subject, and tense/aspect prefixes may not be used in the imperative mode; the continuative prefix is only rarely used. Thus a verb in the imperative takes only number-of-subject and, occasionally, continuative prefixes, though the full range of suffixes is available:

- (77) s-ol!
 PL-do
'Do it (all of you)!'
- (78) la-kwasig-pin-kin kuli kafa-k!
 DU-follow-DIR:3-TRANS dog POS-1SG
'(You two), follow my dog!'
- (79) am-u-alel!
 CONT-DU-stand
'Just keep on standing (you two)!'

3.1.4. Summary

Verbs in all three modes take a number of sets of prefixes and suffixes. Table VI listed the prefixes and suffixes used in the declarative mode; to those need to be added the interrogative prefix hau- and the interrogative directional suffix -hie. Table VII below summarises the range of affixes which can be used in each mode: + and - indicate obligatory presence and obligatory absence respectively, while (+) indicates optional presence.

TABLE VII: Affix-classes in each mode			
Prefixes	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative
Intentional	(+)	(+)	-
Future	(+)	(+)	-
Person-of-Subject	+	+	-
Tense/Aspect	+	+	-
Continuative	(+)	(+)	(+)
Interrogative	-	+	-
Number-of-Subject	+	+	+
<u>Suffixes</u>			
Directional	(+)	(+)	(+)
Referential	(+)	(+)	(+)
Transitive	(+)	(+)	(+)

3.2. Nominals

South-west Tanna nominals may be categorised morphologically into three major classes: pronouns (showing person, number, and case distinctions); inalienable or directly possessed nouns (requiring a possessive suffix); and other nouns. Each of these classes is discussed in turn below, with some attention being paid to subclassification and irregularities.

3.2.1. Pronouns

Pronouns in South-west Tanna vary in form for person, number, and case. The full range of free pronoun forms is given in Table VIII; possessive pronominal suffixes will be discussed in the next section.¹⁶

TABLE VIII: Free pronouns					
Case	Person	Number			
		Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Focal	1IN		kɪlau	kɪtasɪl	kɪtaua
	1EX	iou	kɪmlu	kɪmasɪl	kɪmaua
	2	iik	kɪmilu	kɪmisɪl	kɪmia
	3	in	ilɪu	ilɪsɪl	ilɪa
Object	1IN		alau	atasɪl	ataua
	1EX	iou	amlu	amasɪl	amaua
	2	iik	amilu	amisɪl	amia
	3	in	aliu	alisɪl	alia

Person and number distinctions in South-west Tanna have already been discussed in connection with the verb (section 3.1.1.), and require no further discussion here. The case distinction, however, needs some explanation. The term 'focal' is used to refer to those forms of a pronoun used when the pronoun stands alone in a sentence (e.g. as answer to a question). As will be seen, this form is also the form used as subject, and it contrasts with the 'object' form.

The object forms are used when the pronoun is the head of a NP which is (i) the object of a clause or (ii) preceded by a case-marker or preposition in a peripheral phrase (i.e. instrumental, dative, benefactive, etc.; see section 4. for clarification). Some examples:

- (80) l-ɪm-nɪahu alɪu
 3SG-PST-prevent them:DU:OBJ
 'He stopped/blocked the two of them'

- (81) pa l-ɪmn-aam amia
 who 3SG-PST-see you:PL:OBJ
 'Who saw you (all)?'

- (82) i-emn-inkiaal kimi alisil
 1EX-PST-speak DAT them:TR:OBJ
 'I spoke to the three of them'
- (83) l-im-ni tukw amlu ...
 3SG-PST-say DAT us:DU:OBJ
 'He said to us two ...'

Variation for case is only apparent in the non-singular pronouns; the singular object forms in Table VIII are identical to the focal forms. However, the third person singular pronoun shows a range of allomorphic variation when used as object which does not occur when it is used as a focal pronoun. First, in 3SG is regularly deleted when object of a verb, and only appears in object position in cases of very strong emphasis:¹⁷

- (84) i-ak-am-aam Ø
 1EX-CONC-CONT-see him
 'I (can) see it/him/her'
- (85) tu-k-Ø-s-ol Ø
 FUT-3NSG-CONC-PL-do it
 'They will do it'

Secondly, when preceded by the case-marker tukw, in 3SG has the allomorph un:

- (86) i-em-ni tukw un ...
 1EX-PST-say DAT him
 'I said to him ...'

The focal forms are used in non-object position: i.e. as subjects, and in most reduced sentences (e.g. answers to questions):

- (87) kimaau i-ak-am-s-ol
 we:EX:PL 1EX-CONC-CONT-PL-do
 'We are doing it'
- (88) pa l-imn-ol? kimlu
 who 3SG-PST-do? we:EX:DU
 'Who did it?' 'The two of us'

Morphologically, there is a clear break between the singular and the non-singular forms. The singular forms appear to be morphologically simple, and although there is some evidence that the initial /i/ may have once been a prefix, it no longer functions as one. The non-singular forms, however, are morphologically complex, and consist of a root marking person and case, followed by a suffix marking number. The internal structure of the non-singular pronouns appears to be as follows:

Person and Case				Number			
kīt-	1IN	FOC	at-	1IN	OBJ	lau/-lu/-u	DU
kīm-	1EX	FOC	am-	1EX	OBJ	-asɪl/-sɪl	TR
kimi-	2	FOC	ami-	2	OBJ	-aua/-a	PL
ili-	3	FOC	ali-	3	OBJ		

It should be stressed, however, that the forms given in Table VIII function as units: i.e. neither the person-and-case elements nor the number elements may stand independently of each other.

3.2.2. Directly possessed nouns

It is common in Oceanic languages for one set of nouns to require relatively close possessive marking, while another set has more distant marking.¹⁸ Close marking, often referred to as inalienable or direct possession, generally involves the possessor – at least, the pronoun possessor – being marked by an affix to the possessed noun; in most Oceanic languages, this affix is a suffix. Distant marking, often called alienable possession, often shows this suffix being attached to some other word in the NP (a possessive-marker).

South-west Tanna shows this distinction, as will become clear in section 4.2.4. A number of distinct subtypes of distant possession can be isolated, but none of these involves any change in the morphology of the noun itself; rather, possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to some other morpheme, as in:

- (89) kuli kafa-k
 dog POS-1SG
 'My dog'

Close possession, on the other hand, involves suffixation of the possessed noun, as in:

- (90) lim-k
 father-1SG
 'My father'

The forms *kuli-k 'my dog' and *lim kafa-k 'my father' are ungrammatical.

In direct possession, the following pronominal possessive suffixes are added to nouns:

TABLE IX: Possessive pronominal suffixes					
Case	Person	Number			
		Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Possessive	1IN		-lau	-tasɪl	-taua
	1EX	-k	-mlu	-masɪl	-maua
	2	-m	-milu	-misɪl	-mia
	3	{-n -ni}	-liu	-lisɪl	-lia

Although the singular forms differ, the morphological similarity between the possessive pronominal forms in Table IX and the focal and objective pronouns in Table VIII will be immediately apparent. (The two 3SG forms will be discussed below.)

The range of nouns to which these suffixes must be added can be at least partly defined semantically. Most kinship terms take these suffixes: e.g. lim- 'father', nisɪn- 'mother', nauin- 'sister (of a man)', mɪla- 'mother's brother', etc. Similarly, many parts of the body (kwalm- 'hand, arm', nuhu- 'leg, foot', tiki- 'skin', nakanmop- 'liver', nɪpwaghig- 'nose', etc.) and parts of a whole (nukwa- 'fruit', nua- 'root', ielkwaa- '(in the) middle', nɪkle- 'roof', etc.) also take these suffixes directly. There are also certain other nouns, conceived of as parts of a whole, which are required to

take possessive suffixes; these include nanmw- 'shadow', nhag- 'name', and ltki- 'voice'. On the other hand, there is a number of nouns which, on semantic grounds, one might expect to belong to this class, but which in fact do not. These nouns, which include ielmaan 'husband', pilavɪn 'wife',¹⁹ kwotavha 'heart', pɪsasul 'thumb', kwanoukók 'kidney', tila 'mast', and quite a few others, will be discussed in section 4.2.4.4. below.

Two forms of the third person singular suffix were given in Table IX. The form -n occurs in all cases except (i) with words for siblings and (ii) the word for child. The various sibling terms take -ni rather than -n: noule-ni 'his/her older sibling of same sex', noulahi-ni 'his/her younger sibling of same sex'. Two sibling terms whose roots end in n simply take -i: mwan-i 'her brother', nauin-i 'his sister'. The word for 'child' shows further irregularities: the root nal- is used with 1SG and 2SG possessors (nal-k 'my child', nal-m 'your child'); with other possessors, the root ti- is used (thus ti-ni 'his/her child', etc.).²⁰

There are, in addition, a few directly possessed nouns which are irregular. These require the pronoun possessor being marked as an affix, but not in the same way as in the majority of cases; in these words, the possessive pronominal affix is suffixed to some other element, usually formally resembling one of the possessive markers to be discussed in section 4.2.4., and this whole constituent is then prefixed to the root. The following is an exhaustive list from my data; roots are capitalised, and PRO indicates where the pronominal affix occurs:

ni-PRO-HAU	'penis'
kapa-PRO-IEL	'father's sister's son (of male)'
kapa-PRO-KAPWA	'head'
ni-PRO-KAUGA	'chin'
kapa-PRO-KÚA	'anus'
ni-PRO-KULA	'brain'
ni-PRO-LAKW	'throat, neck'
kapa-PRO-MWANIIIP	'dorsal fin'
kapa-PRO-UA	'vagina'

I cannot suggest any historical explanation for these cases. However, I can point to similar cases in all the Tanna languages, involving almost exactly the same set of roots (cf. Lynch 1978b:87), and can only suggest that this set of irregularities developed at the Proto-Tanna stage.

3.2.3. Other nouns

As a general rule, other nouns are morphologically simple in that they possess no inflectional morphology. However, certain human nouns are exceptions to this general statement. While other nouns are invariable for number (number being marked by a following modifier or in the verb), some human nouns show a distinct plural form:

(91) Singular		Plural
iame	'the one (who)'	nime
ielmama	'person'	nelmama

Singular		Plural
ielmaan	'man'	nelmaan
pilavɪn	'woman'	nɪpilavɪn
pukaliakatɪt	'boy'	nɪpualiakatɪt
piakatɪt	'girl'	nɪpiakwoskwa
pa	'who?'	nɪpa
hualu	'old man'	{nɪhualu kwasɪhualu
piahualu	'old woman'	{nɪpiahualu kwasɪpiahualu

The plural generally involves the prefixing of *n-* or *nɪ-*, though a prefix *kwas-* is observed in two instances, and there is also some evidence of other irregular formations (cf. the plurals of 'boy' and 'girl'). These examples apart, however, nominals which are neither pronouns nor directly possessed nouns show no evidence of inflectional morphology.

3.2.4. Derivational morphology

The derivation of nouns from other word classes, and the formation of compound nouns, are common processes in South-west Tanna, and this section will examine each of these processes briefly.

3.2.4.1. Derivational affixes. Nouns may be formed by attaching certain derivational affixes to roots belonging to other word classes. There are four such affixes:

i-	agentive (AG)
k-	instrumental (INST)
il-	identificatory nominaliser (NOM)
n- ... -ien	general nominaliser (NOM)

The agentive nominaliser *i-* (*ie-* before a consonant) is added to a verb root to form an agentive noun:

(92) i-ɪklha	'a thief'
AG-steal	
i-ɪnkiaal	'a talker'
AG-speak	
ie-ɪkwun	'one who knows'
AG-know	

Similarly, the instrumental nominaliser *k-* (*ka-* before a consonant) is added to a verb to form an instrumental noun:

(93) k-ɪlai	'axe'
INST-cut	
ka-kɪl	'digging-stick'
INST-dig	

The identificatory nominaliser *il-* forms nouns from adjectives and modifiers:

- (94) *il-akwas* 'a/the old one'
 NOM-*old*
il-vi 'a/the new one'
 NOM-*new*

The general nominaliser is a discontinuous affix which forms a general or abstract noun from a verb or adjective. The affix involves prefixing *n-* and suffixing *-ien* to the verb or adjective root:

- (95) *n-amelinu-ien* 'peace, calm'
 NOM-*peaceful*-NOM
n-ivgin-ien 'eating, food'
 NOM-*eat*-NOM
n-amhokw-ien 'fog, fogginess'
 NOM-*foggy*-NOM

3.2.4.2. Compounding. In addition, nouns in South-west Tanna may be formed by compounding noun + noun, noun + adjective, or noun + verb:

- (96) *nal-ipwai* 'nightmare' NOUN + NOUN
thing-underworld
pis-asuul 'thumb' NOUN + ADJECTIVE
finger-big
nal-mlagh 'animal' NOUN + VERB
thing-be:alive

By far the most common source of compounding, however, involves two forms which are used as the first element of the compound:

(a) *kwa-*, *kwo-*, *nukwa-*, *nakwa-*, *nokwa-*, *nikwa-*, in their various forms. These forms derive from *nukwa-* 'fruit', and have a general meaning of 'fruit of, product of' in many compounds in which they occur:

- (97) *kwa-nkwa-* 'seed' cf. *nukwa-* 'fruit'
kwa-nelaus 'vein, sinew' cf. *nelaus* 'rope'

In most such compounds, however, the second element seems to have ceased having any independent existence, and occurs only in the compound form:

- (98) *nukwanee-* 'hair (on head)'
kwanhel- 'egg'
kwanakau 'rib'
nakwatana 'valley'
kwanikiatu 'outrigger boom'

(b) *mwa-*, *mwei-*, *nimwa*, *nimwei-* and related forms. These forms probably derive from *nimwa* 'house', and have a general meaning of 'covering, outside of' in many compounds in which they occur:

- (99) *nimwa-nvhaga* 'bow' cf. *nivhaga* 'bow and arrow'
nimw-akilakil 'shore, beach' cf. *nipakil* 'sand'
nimwa-nsii- 'buttocks' cf. *nisii-* 'excrement'

As in the case with nukwa- compounds, many compounds with the derivatives of nimwa as the first element seem to have been lexicalised in South-west Tanna, the second element apparently no longer having any independent existence:

- (100) nīmweita- 'back'
 mwatelg- 'ear'
 mwankuiu 'pandanus'

3.3. Modifiers

Modifiers are words which normally follow the head noun in an NP or the verb in a VP.²¹ They are morphologically simple, and this section will therefore not be concerned with their internal structure but with their subclassification.

3.3.1. General modifiers

General modifiers (GEN) may occur either in a verb phrase or in a noun phrase. Examples of two of these, vi 'new, newly' and ima 'just, only', are given below:

- (101) l-ua-ua vi
 3SG-PF-come new
 'He is newly arrived'
- (102) in e nimwa vi
 it DEM:1 house new
 'This is a new house'
- (103) l-Ø-am-ala ima
 3SG-CONC-CONT-stay just
 'He is still staying'
- (104) kimlu ima tu-Ø-pi-ala
 we:EX:DU just FUT-3NSG-SQ-stay
 'Just the two of us will stay'

This class is probably an open class, but with a small membership. Other general modifiers are akwasig 'behind', ankap 'very, very much' ialmih 'different(ly)', mala 'slow(ly)', kwiskwis 'together', etc.

3.3.2. Verbal modifiers

Verbal modifiers (VM) may occur only in VPs, and not in NPs. Two of these, pik 'a lot, very much', and ta 'completely, finished', are exemplified below:

- (105) l-Ø-am-ivgin pik
 3SG-CONC-CONT-eat very:much
 'He eats a lot'
- (106) i-akua-s-ol ta
 1EX-PF-PL-do already
 'We have already done it', 'We have finished doing it'

This class is also small, but I have no evidence that it is a closed class. Other VMs are *la* 'now, then', and *lu* 'trying to'.

3.3.3. Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers (NM) may only occur in NPs, and not in VPs. Examples are given below of *maul* 'left' and *misia* 'dry':

- (107) *kwalm-n maul*
hand-3SG left
'His left hand'
- (108) *nikien misia kilik*
coconut dry DEM:IND
'A dry coconut'

Again, this class may be closed, but I have no evidence that it is; other NMs are *fav+n* 'which?', *matukw* 'right', and *kal+n* (used in relationship terms: see section 6).

3.3.4. Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers (QTY), which may only occur in NPs, contains the numerals 'one' to 'five':²²

- (109) *kilikiana* 'one'
kilalu 'two'
kisisil 'three'
kuas 'four'
kilkilip 'five'

The class also includes a number of other words: *tiks+n* 'some', *kwatiks+n* 'a few', *hialma* 'next', *kuhu* 'how many?', 'how much?', *mufaam* 'all', etc.

3.3.5. Grammatical number markers

Another set of modifiers which may only appear in NPs is the set of grammatical number markers (NUM). There are three of these:

- (110) *mil* 'dual'
misil 'trial'
m+na 'plural'

These modifiers are not required in a NP, even when the head of the NP is non-singular. The number of the subject NP, for example, is marked as a prefix to the verb, so a subject NP may or may not include a NUM as well. Generally, when the number is important to the speaker or the context, then either a numeral or a NUM (or both in combination) will be used; if the number is not important, then no NUM will be used.

3.3.6. Demonstratives

Finally, there is a closed class of demonstratives (DEM). The list below is, I believe, complete:

(111) kɪliik	'indefinite, a, some'	(DEM:IND)
e	'this near speaker'	(DEM:1)
en	'this, that, near addressee'	(DEM:2)
aan~aa	'that, yonder'	(DEM:3)
kwuse	'this, that, indicated'	(DEM:IDC)
ai	'the, this, that, previously referred to'	(DEM:PR)

These modifiers normally occur in NPs:

- (112) vha-pwa nal en
give-DIR:1 thing DEM:2
'Give me that (which you have/near you)'
- (113) kwan ai l-Ø-am-olkeikei piakatɪt kwuse
fellow DEM:PR 3SG-CONC-CONT-like girl DEM:IDC
'That/the man (we were talking about) likes that particular girl (I am pointing to)'

They are occasionally found in VPs, however:

- (114) kwate en!
stay DEM:2
'Stay there (where you are)!'

3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives (ADJ) may be distinguished from modifiers in that they may take certain verbal affixes, and may thus stand as the sole constituent of a VP in a clause. On the other hand, they may be distinguished from verbs in that they may also occur without verbal affixes, and in their unaffixed form behave syntactically like modifiers, occurring in a NP following the head noun. The examples below show the adjectives *esla* 'sharp' and *amkɪmɪk* 'dirty' being used both verbally and non-verbally:

- (115) nau e l-Ø-esla
knife DEM:1 3SG-CONC-sharp
'This knife is sharp'
- (116) vha-pwa nau esla kɪliik!
give-DIR:1 knife sharp DEM:IND
'Give me a sharp knife'
- (117) nal-k mufaam k-Ø-s-amkɪmɪk
child-1SG all 3NSG-CONC-PL-dirty
'All my children are dirty'
- (118) vha-pɪn nepɪn amkɪmɪk aan!
give-DIR:3 clothes dirty DEM:3
'Give him those dirty clothes!'

Adjectives have been observed to occur with all the verbal prefixes except the intentional (which in any case seems to be extremely rare). They do not, however, take the verbal suffixes described in 3.1.1. above.

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Phrases

On the basis of their functions and their internal structure, a number of different phrase-types can be recognised in South-west Tanna. Each of these will be briefly discussed and exemplified below.

4.1.1. Verb phrases

Verb Phrases (VP) in South-west Tanna have the following structure:

- $$(1) \quad VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V + \left(\begin{array}{c} VM \\ GEN \\ ADJ \end{array} \right) + (DEM) + (TRANS) \\ ADJ + \left(\begin{array}{c} GEN \\ VM \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right\}$$

The rule states that there are two basic types of VPs. One has as head a verb (i.e. verb root with appropriate affixes); optionally following the head appears a verbal modifier, a general modifier, or an adjective; this in turn may be followed by a demonstrative, with the transitive postclitic occurring finally in a VP. The other type of VP has an adjective (root + affixes) as its head; this may be followed by a general modifier or a verbal modifier.

Some examples of VPs showing various of these combinations are illustrated below. Slashes mark phrase-boundaries. Firstly, VPs with a V as head:

- (2) l-Ø-am-akwita
3SG-CONC-CONT-sit
'He is sitting down'
- (3) l-ua-ua vi
3SG-PF-come new
'He is newly arrived'
- (4) n-ak-am-eliuok mala
2-CONC-CONT-walk slowly
'You are walking slowly'
- (5) t-i-ak-ala e / ikin e
FUT-LEX-CONC-stay DEM:1 / place DEM:1
'I will stay here'
- (6) tagalua / l-n-ouiak ta ki / tiki-n
snake / 3SG-PF-shed already TRANS / skin-3SG
'The snake has shed its skin'

Next, some examples of VPs with an adjective head:

- (7) l-Ø-vha
3SG-CONC-good
'It is good'
- (8) Ø-n-akwiliin ta
3SG-PF-full already
'It is full'

- (9) k-Ø-u-alkatit ita
 3NSG-CONC-DU-small just
'The two of them are only small'

4.1.2. Noun phrases

The basic structure of the South-west Tanna NP is given in the following rule:

- (10)
$$NP \rightarrow N + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{GEN} \\ \text{NM} \\ \text{ADJ} \end{array} \right) + (\text{NUM}) + (\text{QTY}) + (\text{DEM})$$

Noun phrases have nominals as heads, and all other constituents are optional. If these optional constituents occur, they occur in the following order: first, either a general modifier or a nominal modifier or an adjective; next, a grammatical number marker; then a quantifier; and lastly a demonstrative. Examples of various NP-types will first be given of NPs whose head nominal is a noun:

- (11) i-emn-uh / pukah
 1EX-PST-strike / pig
'I killed a/the pig'
- (12) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vi
 3SG-PF-make already / house new
'He has built a new house'
- (13) vha-pwa / nau esla en!
 give-DIR:1 / knife sharp DEM:2
'Give me that sharp knife (near you)!'
- (14) pilav+n mil ai / tu-k-Ø-la-ua
 woman DU DEM:PR / FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-come
'The two women will come'
- (15) n-ak-am-aam / piakatit mil kilalu kwuse / ua?
 2-CONC-CONT-see / girl DU two DEM:IDC / or
'Are you looking at those two girls there?'

In context, a head noun may be deleted and a quantifier may act as the head of a NP. Thus if the context included some discussion of two men who had gone away, then (16) would be grammatical:

- (16) kilalu ai / tu-k-Ø-la-lel+g
 two DEM:PR / FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-return
'The two will come back'

There are a few combinations of GEN + GEN which are acceptable within a NP. The most acceptable of these involve general modifiers like pik 'very much' or ankap 'very' as the second adjunct:

- (17) i-emn-aam / nimwa vi ankap
 1EX-PST-see / house new very
'I saw a very new house'

However, while informants will generally accept sentences with other combinations, such as (18) with ADJ + GEN:

- (18) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vha vi
 3SG-PF-make already / house good new
 'He built a good new house'

it is much more common for South-west Tanna speakers to either verbalise the adjective,

- (19) l-n-ol- ta / nimwa vi / l-Ø-vha
 3SG-PF-make already / house new/ 3SG-CONC-good
 'He built a good new house'

or to nominalise either the modifier or the adjective and remove it to an appositional phrase:

- (20) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vha / il-vi
 3SG-PF-make already / house good / NOM-new
 'He built a good new house'

Now we turn to NPs whose head is a pronoun. Most commonly, pronoun heads are unmodified:

- (21) iliu / k-ua-la-su ta / nekw
 they:DU / 3NSG-PF-DU-plant already / yam
 'The two of them have planted the yams'
- (22) i-emn-aam / iik
 1EX-PST-see / you:SG
 'I saw you'

However, pronouns may occur with the other NP constituents (except adjectives), although not as commonly as nouns:

- (23) kɪmlu ɪma / t-i-ak-la-vɪn
 we:EX:DU just / FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-go
 'Just the two of us will go'
- (24) l-ɪmn-uh / alia mɪna
 3SG-PST-strike / they:OBJ:PL PL
 'He hit/killed them all'
- (25) kɪtaua mufaam / tu-Ø-pi-ha-ua
 we:IN:PL all / FUT-1IN-SQ-PL-come
 'All of us will come'
- (26) vah / in e!
 take / it DEM:1
 'Take this one!'

4.1.3. Location Phrases

Location phrases (LP) indicate direction after a verb of specific motion and location after other verbs. All LPs may be introduced by apwa which, though optional, marks the following phrase as a LP. Three subtypes of LPs can be identified:

- (27)
- $$LP \rightarrow (apwa) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i k \dot{a} n + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} MOD \\ ADJ \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{locative noun} \\ ie + NP \end{array} \right\}$$

The use of *apwa* is more common with LPs of the first two types; its use with the *ie*+NP type seems much less common.

The first subtype of LP uses the noun *ikin* 'place, location' followed by a modifier or an adjective. Most commonly, a demonstrative follows *ikin*:

- (28) *l-Ø-am-ala / ikin e*
 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / place DEM:1
 'He lives here'
- (29) *vah-pin / ikin aan!*
 take-DIR:3 / place DEM:3
 'Take it over there'
- (30) *i-akn-aam ta / apwa ikin ai*
 1EX-PF-see already / LOC place DEM:PR
 'I found it there (you-know-where)'

However, adjectives and other modifiers may also follow *ikin*:

- (31) *l-Ø-am-ala / apwa ikin vi*
 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC place new
 'He lives in a new place'
- (32) *l-Ø-am-ala / ikin ha*
 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / place bad
 'He lives in a bad place'

The second kind of LP involves the use of a subclass of nouns which I call locative nouns. This subclass is defined by their behaviour in LPs: Locative nouns may occur alone as the head of a LP, while other nouns must take the case-marker *ie*. Locative nouns include the names of all places — e.g. *lounhanin* (a village), *lakwukak* (a village), *Isagil* (a government station) — and also a number of other nouns, of which the following list is an example:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| (33) <i>ipaka</i> | 'near, nearby' |
| <i>isokw</i> | 'far, far away' |
| <i>pihiu</i> | 'north' |
| <i>pilaah</i> | 'south' |
| <i>pihiaak</i> | 'east' |
| <i>pila</i> | 'west' |

One or two regular nouns have special locative forms:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (34) <i>ielkwanu</i> | 'to, at, or in the village' |
| | (cf. <i>lukwanu</i> 'village') |
| <i>iimwa</i> | 'at home, home, homewards' |
| | (cf. <i>nimwa</i> 'house') |

As noted above, these nouns may occur as the heads of LPs, although they may be introduced by *apwa*:

- (35) *l-Ø-am-ala / apwa lounhanin*
 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC *lounhanin*
 'He lives at *lounhanin*'
- (36) *lihu / apwa isokw!*
 put / LOC far
 'Put it down a long way away'

- (37) t-i-ak-am-vin / ielkwanu
 FUT-LEX-CONC-CONT-go / LOC:village
 'I'm going to the village', 'I'm going home'

The third type of LP consists of a NP (as described in 4.1.2.) preceded by the case-marker *ie*. This case-marker is a clitic (as are the others to be discussed in later sections); it receives no stress in its own right, although it may be stressed if, when considered as the first syllable of the following noun, it fits the structural description of the stress-assignment rules (see 2.4. above). However, it will be more convenient for purposes of description to maintain the fiction that *ie* (and also the other case-markers) are in fact separate words.

Examples of LPs of this sort, with NPs whose heads are nouns, are given below:

- (38) l-Ø-am-eliuok / ie nipakil
 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk / LOC sand
 'He is walking on the beach'
- (39) l-Ø-am-ala / ie tukwas aan
 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC mountain DEM:3
 'He lives on that mountain there'
- (40) n-ak-am-avin / ie n-asim-ien / ua?
 2-CONC-CONT-go / LOC NOM-work:in:garden-NOM / or
 'Are you going to the garden(s)?'

Example (38) clearly illustrates the point made earlier that LPs have directional sense after a verb of specific motion (as in (40)) but a locative sense elsewhere (e.g. (39)). The verb in (38), *eliuok* 'to walk', is not a verb of specific motion, and thus (38) may only have a locative sense: walking on the beach. For a directional sense to apply to a verb like *eliuok*, a verb of specific motion would have to be conjoined; e.g.

- (41) l-Ø-am-eliuok / m-avin / ie nipakil
 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk / AND-go / LOC sand
 'He is walking to the beach'

Before a pronoun, *ie* shows some allomorphic variation: *ie* becomes *il* before the non-singular objective pronouns, with the third person non-singular showing further morphophonemic changes:

il + aliu	>	il eliu	(DU)
il + alisil	>	il isil	(TR)
il + alia	>	il elia	(PL)

Before the singular pronouns, *ie* has the form *ila*; further, the possessive forms of the pronouns, and not the free forms, occur with this allomorph: thus *ila-k* 'to me', *ila-m* 'to you', *ila-n* 'to him/her/it'.

- (42) nau ai / l-Ø-am-ala / ila-n
 knife DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC-3SG
 'The knife is on it'
- (43) kwan ai / l-Ø-am-aiu / m-avin / apwa ila-k
 fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-run /AND-go / LOC LOC-1SG
 'That fellow is running to(wards) me'

4.1.4. Time phrases

Time phrases (TP) in South-west Tanna have the following structure:

- (44)
$$TP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{temporal noun} \\ \text{ie} + NP \end{array} \right\}$$

That is, TP's are composed either of a temporal noun, or of a NP introduced by the case-marker *ie*.

Temporal nouns are a subclass of nouns whose definition is similar to that of locative nouns discussed in the previous section: that is, they are nouns which may occur alone as the head of a TP. Below are some examples of temporal nouns:

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| (45) touei | 'today' |
| takwtakwun | 'now' |
| niiv | 'yesterday' |
| naho | 'day before yesterday' |
| nhiksɪl | 'two days ago' |
| tukwienakwamɪl | 'tomorrow' |
| tukwnaho | 'day after tomorrow' |
| tukwnhiksɪl | 'two days hence' |
| naghɪn | 'when? (past)' |
| tukwnaghɪn | 'when? (future)' |

Some examples:

- (46) n-akn-ua / naghɪn?
2-PF-come / when:past
'When did you come'
- (47) i-emn-ivgɪn / pukah / niiv
1EX-PST-feed / pig / yesterday
'I fed the pigs yesterday'

The other kind of TP consists of a NP preceded by the case-marker *ie*:

- (48) l-ua-ua / ie lukweha
3SG-PST-come / TEM daylight
'He came during daylight/during the daytime'
- (49) l-imn-aan / kamaam / ie naha nɪpɪg?
3SG-PST-eat / fish / TEM what day
'When did he eat the fish?'

When the head of the NP is *nɪpɪg* 'day, time', the case-marker *ie* may be dispensed with:

- (50) nɪpɪg kape nehen / i-ak-lih / kuhuan
time POS rain / 1EX-CONC-collect / shellfish
'During the rain I collect shellfish'
- (51) l-Ø-am-aan / mana / nɪpɪg mufaam
3SG-CONC-CONT-eat / chicken / day all
'He always eats chicken', 'He eats chicken every day'

4.1.5. Dative phrases

South-west Tanna dative phrases (DP) have the following structure:

- (52) $DP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} tukw \\ k\acute{i}mi \end{array} \right\} + NP$

That is, a dative phrase consists of a NP introduced by either the case-marker *tukw* or the case-marker *k\acute{i}mi* (which is *k\acute{i}mi* ~ *k\acute{i}m* before a consonant).

The DP with *k\acute{i}mi* is used after verbs of giving:

- (53) *tukw-l-Ø-vha-pwa / k\acute{i}mi iou*
 FUT-3SG-CONC-give-DIR:1 / DAT I
'He will give it to me'

Some verbs of speaking require *k\acute{i}mi*, while others require *tukw*:

- (54) *i-emn-ĩnkiaal / k\acute{i}mi aliu*
 1EX-PST-speak / DAT they:DU:OBJ
'I spoke to them'
- (55) *l-ĩm-ni / tukw lĩm-n*
 3SG-PST-say / DAT father-3SG
'He talked to his father'

4.1.6. Benefactive phrases

The benefactive phrase (BP) has the following structure:

- (56) $BP \rightarrow kape + NP$

The BP is, then, a NP introduced by *kape* which also functions as a possessive-marker; see section 4.2.4.2. below for a discussion of its allomorphs. Below are examples of benefactive phrases:

- (57) *n-ak-am-ol / kape lĩm-m / ua?*
 2-CONC-CONT-do / BENEf father-2SG / or
'Are you doing it for your father?'
- (58) *l-ĩmn-asim / niĩv / kape niĩn-n*
 3SG-PST-work:in:garden / yesterday / BENEf mother-3SG
'Yesterday he worked in the garden for his mother'

4.1.7. Instrumental phrases

South-west Tanna instrumental phrases (IP) consist of a NP preceded by the case-marker *ie*; that is:

- (59) $IP \rightarrow ie + NP$

Examples:

- (60) *t-i-ak-am-ĩlai / nai aan / ie k\acute{i}pas e*
 FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-cut / tree DEM:3 / INST axe DEM:1
'I'm going to cut down that tree with this axe'
- (61) *n-ĩmn-ol / ila-n / ua?*
 2-PST-do / INST-3SG / or
'Did you use it?', 'Did you do it with it?'

4.1.8. Causative phrases

Causative phrases (CP) are NPs introduced by the case-marker tukw:

- (62) CP → tukw + NP
- (63) i-ak-a-mha / tukw kamaam
LEX-CONC-CONT-sick / CAUS fish
'I am sick because of the fish'
- (64) niamha / l-Ø-as iou / tukw alia
anger / 3SG-CONC-bite I / CAUS they:PL:OBJ
'I am angry because of them (i.e. because of something they did)'

4.1.9. Case-markers: Summary

A number of case-markers were introduced in the preceding sections. These are listed again below for convenience, together with their allomorphs and their functions:

ie (il-, ila-)	location phrases time phrases instrumental phrases
tukw	dative phrases causative phrases
kimi (kim)	dative phrases
kape (see 4.2.4.2.)	benefactive phrases

4.2. Noun phrase expansions

The NP which forms the basis for most of the phrase-types discussed in section 4.1. may be expanded in various ways. In this section we shall examine coordination of NPs, relativisation, complex LPs, and possession.

4.2.1. Coordination

Any NP – and this includes any NP which is preceded by a case-marker in a LP, TP, etc. – may in fact consist of two or more conjoined NPs. Such NPs are conjoined by the following role:

- (65) NP → NP + mine + NP + (mine)

That is, the conjunction mine 'and' joins two NPs, and mine may also occur after the second NP. In fact, when only two NPs are conjoined, mine does not normally occur after the second NP; however, when three or more NPs are conjoined, mine will normally follow the last NP, and earlier occurrences of mine (except between the second-last and last NP) may be deleted.

- (66) i-ak-olkeikei / kwalei mine nekw
LEX-CONC-like / sweet:potato and yam
'I like sweet potato and yam'
- (67) l-imn-aan / kamaam mine mana
3SG-PST-eat / fish and chicken
'He ate fish and chicken'

- (68) i-emn-s-aam / kɪlhiavɪn, kamaam, ihi mɪne iakw mɪne
 1EX-PST-PL-see / shark, fish, squid and turtle and
 'We saw sharks, fish, squid, and turtles'

When one of the NPs to be conjoined is a pronoun, however, *mɪne* is not used to link pronoun + NP. Instead, a pronoun with the person and number of the whole conjoined NP stands first in that NP, and is followed by the non-pronominal NP or NPs. Thus (69) is unacceptable:

- (69) *iou mɪne Tom / t-i-uk-u-ivgɪn
 I and Tom / FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-eat

Instead, a pronoun with the person and number of the whole conjoined NP (i.e. kɪmlu 1EX:DU) stands first, and this is immediately followed by the conjoined NP ('Tom').

- (70) kɪmlu Tom / t-i-uk-u-ivgɪn
 we:EX:DU Tom / FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-eat
 'Tom and I will eat'

When two (or more) non-pronominal NPs are conjoined with a pronoun, *mɪne* will join the non-pronominal NPs:

- (71) kɪmasɪl Tom mɪne nal-n / t-i-ak-lh-ivgɪn
 we:EX:TR Tom and child-3SG / FUT-1EX-CONC-TR-eat
 'Tom, his son and I will eat'

4.2.2. Relativisation

Relativisation in South-west Tanna involves the embedding of a clause (see 4.3.) within a NP or some phrase which includes a NP. A relative clause is conjoined to the NP immediately following the noun which it describes. In the examples below, the relative clause is separated from the rest of the NP by square brackets.

- (72) i-emn-aam / ielmama [l-Ø-olkeikei ankap kamaam]
 1EX-PST-see / person [3SG-CONC-like very fish]
 'I saw the man who likes fish a lot'
- (73) i-emn-aam / ielmama [n-ɪmn-uh niɪv]
 1EX-PST-see / person [2-PST-fight yesterday]
 'I saw the man who you fought yesterday'
- (74) pilavɪn aa [l-Ø-am-asim] / tukw-l-Ø-ua / tukwienakwamɪl
 woman DEM:3 [3SG-CONC-CONT-work:in:garden] / FUT-3SG-CONC-come / tomorrow
 'That woman who is working in the garden will come tomorrow'
- (75) i-emn-aan / nekw na-i kwan ai [l-ɪmn-uh kafa-k pukah]
 1EX-PST-eat / yam POS:EAT-POS fellow DEM:PR [3SG-PST-kill POS-1SG pig]
 'I ate the yam of the fellow who killed my pig'

Relative clauses on the head noun nɪpɪg 'time' yield a complex TP:

- (76) t-i-ak-ua / ie hospɪtɪl / (ie) nɪpɪg [t-i-ak-a-mha]
 FUT-1EX-CONC-come / LOC hospital / (TEM) time [FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-sick]
 'I will come to hospital when I am sick'

Relative clauses on the head noun ikin 'place' yield a complex LP. The situation is somewhat different here, however. The relative clause may begin and end with ikin, as in (77); alternatively, either occurrence of ikin may be

omitted, with no change in the meaning, as in (78) and (79). However, both occurrences may not be omitted, as the ungrammatical (80) shows:

- (77) t-i-ak-vin / ikin [l-okwiaai] ikin
 FUT-LEX-CONC-go / place [3SG-cold] place
 'I go to a place which is cold'
- (78) t-i-ak-vin / ikin [l-okwiaai]
- (79) t-i-ak-vin / [l-okwiaai] ikin
- (80) *t-i-ak-vin / [l-okwiaai]

4.2.3. Complex location phrases

Certain complex LPs are merely NPs with relative clauses, and these were dealt with in the previous section. Others, however, are complex in a different way. Certain locative nouns (e.g. ipaka 'near' and, isokw 'far') may be followed by tukw + NP to give a complex LP:

- (81) l-imn-eliuok / ipaka tukw kopwiel
 3SG-PST-walk / near DAT stone
 'He walked near the stone'
- (82) l-Ø-am-ala / isokw tukw lim-n
 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / far DAT father-3SG
 'He lives far away from his father'

4.2.4. Possession

A NP may also be expanded by the addition of a following possessive phrase (PP):

- (83) NP → NP + PP

The possessive phrases in South-west Tanna occur in a number of subtypes, but all may be conceived of as having the following underlying structure:

- (84) PP → POS + NP

The NP which is followed by the PP refers to what is possessed; the PP itself contains a possessive-marker (POS) and the NP. If the NP is a pronoun, the pronominal suffixes given in 3.2.2. above are used. The various subtypes of possession will be examined individually.

4.2.4.1. Direct possession. Direct (or inalienable) possession has already been briefly mentioned (section 3.2.2. above). In these phrases, when the possessor is a pronoun, the possessive marker is zero, and possessive pronominal forms are thus suffixed directly to the noun:

- (85) lim-n
 father-3SG
 'His father'
- (86) kwalm-lia
 hand-3PL
 'Their hands'

When the possessor is a noun, a construct suffix is added to the possessed noun. This suffix is -*ɨ* after a consonant-final directly possessed noun; after a noun ending in *a*, the suffix is -*i*; while after any other vowel the suffix is -*∅*:

- (87) *nɨsɨn-ɨ pilavɨn e*
mother-POS woman DEM:1
'This woman's mother'
- (88) *nɨpwaghɨg-ɨ kwan ai*
nose-POS fellow DEM:PR
'The/that fellow's nose'
- (89) *nɨplaa-i nai*
body-POS tree
'The trunk of the tree'
- (90) *mɨla-i Natou*
mother's:brother-POS Natou
'Natou's (maternal) uncle'
- (91) *noulahi-∅ Magau*
younger:sibling-POS Magau
'Magau's young brother'
- (92) *nuhu-∅ pukah*
leg-POS pig
'The pig's leg'

In direct possession, the first (i.e. possessed) NP may not contain any adjective or modifier. Thus a phrase like the following is ungrammatical:

- (93) **nal(-ɨ) amkɨmɨk pilavɨn e*
child(-POS) dirty woman DEM:1

Instead, a modifier must be nominalised and moved out of the PP, while an adjective must be nominalised or verbalised and moved out of the PP:

- (94) *nal-ɨ pilavɨn e / ɨl-amkɨmɨk*
child-POS woman DEM:1 / NOM-dirty
'This woman's dirty child(ren)'
- (95) *nal-ɨ pilavɨn e / ɨl-∅-amkɨmɨk*
child-POS woman DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-dirty
'The woman's dirty child'

4.2.4.2. Active possession. Active (or inalienable) possession involves the use of overt possessive-markers joining the two NPs. In cases of pronoun possessors, the possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to these possessive-markers; when the possessor is not a pronoun, the possessive-marker occurs between the two NPs.

When the possession is to be eaten, the possessive-marker is *na-*. The construct suffix -*i* mentioned above is suffixed to *na-* before a noun possessor:

- (96) *nekw na-m*
yam POS:EAT-2SG
'Your yam(s) (for eating)'
- (97) *nɨpwan na-i kwan ai*
banana POS:EAT-POS fellow DEM:PR
'That fellow's banana(s) (for eating)'

When the possession is to be drunk, the marker *ni-* is used:

- (98) *nɪkɪen ni-k*
coconut POS:DRINK-1SG
'My coconut(s) (for drinking)'
- (99) *nu ni pilavɪn aan*
water POS:DRINK *woman* DEM:3
'That woman's water (for drinking)'

When the possession is to be planted, the marker *nai-* is used:

- (100) *nɪtel nai-lia*
taro POS:PLANT-3PL
'Their taro (for planting)'
- (101) *kwalei nai lɪm-k*
sweet:potato POS:PLANT *father*-1SG
'My father's sweet potato (for planting)'

When the possession is for neither eating, drinking, nor planting, (i.e. in the unmarked case), then the marker *kape-* is used; *kape-* has the allomorphs *kapa-* ~ *kafa-* before the singular pronominal suffixes.

- (102) *nɪmwa kape-ɬaua*
house POS-LIN:PL
'Our house'
- (103) *kuli kape nɪsɪn-k*
dog POS *mother*-1SG
'My mother's dog'
- (104) *nau kapa-n or nau kafa-n*
knife POS-3SG
'His/her knife'

The important feature in the use of these possessive-markers is the intention of the speaker or possessor – i.e. the use to which the possession is going to be put. Water for drinking would be possessed with *ni-*, for example, but water for washing with *kape-*; a coconut for eating would be possessed with *na-*, one for drinking with *ni-*, and one for selling with *kape-*; and so on.

Like the other Tanna languages, South-west Tanna allows the possessor constituent to precede the possessed. This is particularly frequent when the possessor is a pronoun, and phrases like those below occur at least as frequently as their counterparts above without, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any semantic change:

- (96a) *na-m nekw* *'your yam(s) (for eating)'*
- (98a) *ni-k nɪkɪen* *'my coconut(s) (for drinking)'*
- (100a) *nai-lia nɪtel* *'their taro (for planting)'*
- (102a) *kape-ɬaua nɪmwa* *'our house'*
- (104a) *kapa-n nau* *'his knife'*

The same is true to a much lesser extent when the possessor is a noun. A phrase like (103a) is certainly acceptable:

- (103a) *kape nɪsɪn-k kuli* *'my mother's dog'*

However, firstly such a phrase is much less common than its counterpart (103) with possessor following possessed; and secondly, there is in this case a semantic shift – emphasis is being laid on the possessor, so that (103a) indicates that it is definitely my mother's dog, and certainly not anyone else's.

The indication of the high value a possessor places on his possession may also be indicated in a possessive phrase, although again this is not very frequent. In such cases, the structure of the (a) transforms above must be used, and the initial n of the noun deleted.²³ The 'valued' forms of the (a) sentences above would be:

- (96b) na-m ekw *'your favourite (kind of) yam (for eating)'*
 (98b) ni-k ikien *'my favourite (kind of) coconut (for drinking)'*
 (100b) nai-lia itel *'their best planting-taro'*
 (102b) kape-taua imwa *'our favourite house'*
 (104b) kapa-n au *'his prized knife'*

For those nouns which do not begin with n, such a distinction between ordinary and valued possession does not operate. Nor does the distinction operate with noun possessors, as far as I am aware.

4.2.4.3. Locative possession. A few nouns referring to locations are possessed with iimwa- (which takes the construct suffix -i when preceding a noun). This is not a particularly common construction-type in South-west Tanna; however, a few examples may be given:

- (105) ielkwanu iimwa-k
 LOC:village POS:LOC-1SG
 'To/at/in my village'
 (106) tana iimwa-i Misak
 place POS:LOC-POS Misak
 'Misak's place (in the sense of where he comes from, not necessarily where he is living)'

Example (105) shows the true locative sense of this marker, since the corresponding non-locative noun lukwanu can not be possessed with iimwa-, but only with kape-:

- (107) lukwanu kapa-k
 village POS-1SG
 'My village'
 (108) *lukwanu iimwa-k
 village POS:LOC-1SG

There is some evidence that PPs like (105) may also be transformed in the same way that active PPs are transformed:

- (105a) iimwa-k ielkwanu *'to/at/in my village'*

However, this transformation is much less common with locative possession. Furthermore, it seems not to be possible when the possessor is a noun:

- (106a) *? iimwa-i Misak tana

There appears to be no valued variant of locative possession.

4.2.4.4. Passive possession. It was noted in 3.2.2. above that a number of nouns which, on semantic grounds, might be expected to participate in direct possession do not in fact do so. Instead, these nouns (which generally refer to parts of wholes) are possessed in a different manner, which I will call passive possession. All these nouns take *ie* as the possessive-marker, though some can use *kape-* as well:

- (109) *nimlakw ie napw*
ashes POS fire
'The ashes of the fire'
- (110) *tipweua ila-n*
stomach POS-3SG
'His/her/its stomach'
- (111) *kwanikiatu ie kinu* (or *kwanikiatu kape kinu*)
outrigger:boom POS canoe
'The canoe's outrigger-boom'
- (112) *kwanaikwanai ie nuhu-k*
ankle POS leg-1SG
'My ankle'

The semantic relationship between passive possession and location, which is also marked by *ie*, should be remarked upon.

4.2.4.5. Possessive-markers: Summary. For convenience, the various possessive-markers introduced in this section, together with their allomorphs and functions, are listed below:

\emptyset (-i, -i)	direct possession
<i>kape-</i> (<i>kapa-</i> , <i>kafa-</i>)	active possession (unmarked) passive possession (some cases)
<i>na-</i> (<i>na-i</i>)	active possession (marked: to be eaten)
<i>ni-</i>	active possession (marked: to be drunk)
<i>nai-</i>	active possession (marked: to be planted)
<i>iimwa-</i> (<i>iimwa-i</i>)	locative possession
<i>ie</i> (<i>il-</i> , <i>ila-</i>)	passive possession

4.3. Clauses

Two basic types of clauses can be identified in South-west Tanna: clauses which have no VP, and clauses with a VP. The latter can be further divided into intransitive, transitive, and negative clauses.

4.3.1. Verbless clauses

A number of South-west Tanna clause-types requires no VP. These clauses are generally identificatory in nature, and have functions which could be variously labelled as equational, appositional, locational, and temporal.

It is possible to consider such clauses as topic-comment clauses, where the comment is verbless.

Most verbless clauses require the presence of two phrases. The commonest patterns are as follows:

- (113)
- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| verbless
clause | → | NP + NP
NP + LP
NP + PP
PP + NP
TP + NP |
|--------------------|---|---|

(In each case, the NP constituent may be simple or may be expanded according to the various processes outlined in 4.2.)

Examples of these clause-types follow:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| (114) in e / iemasuul kiliik
he DEM:1 / big:man DEM:IND
'He/this is a big-man' | NP + NP |
| (115) natou / ihie?
Natou / where
'Where is Natou?' | NP + LP |
| (116) pukah mina aan / kafa-k
pig PL DEM:3 / POS-1SG
'Those are my pigs', 'Those pigs are mine' | NP + PP |
| (117) kafa-n / nimwa
POS-3SG / house
'(It's) his house' | PP + NP |
| (118) niiv / kamaam pik mina
yesterday / fish very:much PL
'Yesterday there were lots of fish' | TP + NP |

Other clause-types occur, but are rarer; thus LP may precede NP in clauses like (115) if stress is being laid on the location; however, these are minor variations. The major types of verbless clauses are as illustrated above.

Negative verbless clauses do not occur. To make any of the verbless clauses above negative, a negative verb (such as lkak 'not to be') must be used, and the clause thus becomes intransitive verbal.

4.3.2. Verbal clauses

Clauses which require the presence of a VP are subdivided into intransitive, transitive, and negative clauses for the purposes of discussion.

4.3.2.1. Intransitive clauses. An intransitive clause requires the presence of a VP, and also requires one NP preceding the VP: this may be referred to as the core of the clause, with the NP acting as subject of the VP and conditioning the choice of the person-of-subject and number-of-subject prefixes to the verb. There may in addition be a *periphery*, which could

contain one or more other phrases — a LP, TP, DP, BP, IP, or CP, but no other NPs. These peripheral phrases generally follow the verb. There appear to be no special ordering relations among these peripheral phrases, although benefactive phrases (introduced by *kape*) often immediately follow the VP, if only so as to avoid a possible interpretation as a possessive phrase (some of which are also introduced by *kape*). A general rule for intransitive clauses would thus be:

- (119)
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|----|---|-----|----|---|---------|
| intransitive
clause | → NP + VP + (| LP |) | + (| LP |) | + (...) |
| | | TP | | | | | |
| | | DP | | | | | |
| | | BP | | | | | |
| | | IP | | | | | |
| | | CP | | | | | |

The simplest examples of intransitive clauses are examples of cores only:

- (120) *piakatit ai / l-Ø-am-eliuok*
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk
'That girl is walking'
- (121) *pukah mina / k-Ø-a-s-ivgin*
pig PL / 3NSG-CONC-CONT-PL-eat
'The pigs are eating'
- (122) *iou / i-emn-am-apil*
I / 1EX-PST-CONT-sleep
'I was sleeping', 'I was asleep'
- (123) *nau e / l-Ø-esla*
knife DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-sharp
'This knife is sharp'

Peripheral clauses may be added to this core, although in practice not more than two or three ever occur in normal speech; further, it is unusual for peripheral clauses to occur if the head of the VP is an adjective:

- (124) *piakatit ai / l-Ø-am-eliuok / apwa ie nipakil*
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk / LOC LOC sand
'That girl is walking on the sand/beach'
- (125) *nai kilalu ai / l-Ø-lkak ai / touei*
tree two DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-not:be DEM:PR / today
'Those two trees are not there today'
- (126) *lim-lia / l-n-inkiaal ta / kimi nal-n mil*
father-3DU / 3SG-PF-speak already / DAT child-3SG DU
'The father has already spoken to his two children'
- (127) *Magau / l-imn-asim / niiv / kape nisin-n*
Magau / 3SG-PST-work:in:garden / yesterday / BENEF mother-3SG
'Yesterday Magau worked in the garden for his mother'
- (128) *kwan ai / l-imn-hakta / ie nelaus*
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-go:up / INST rope
'The man climbed with a rope'
- (129) *pilavin kafa-k / l-Ø-a-mha / tukw kuhuan ai*
wife POS-1SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-sick / CAUS shellfish DEM:PR
'My wife is ill because of those shellfish'

While TPs may occur anywhere in the periphery after the VP, it is just as common for them to occur at the beginning of the clause, before the subject NP. Thus (130) is a possible variant of (127):

- (130) niiv / Magau / l-imn-asim / kape nisin-n
yesterday / Magau / 3SG-PST-work:in:garden / BENEf mother-3SG
'Yesterday Magau worked in the garden for his mother'

If this fronted TP refers to a future time, the future prefix may be omitted from the verb:

- (131) tukwienakwamɪl / nal-k / (tukw-)l-Ø-ua
tomorrow / child-1SG / (FUT-)3SG-CONC-come
'Tomorrow my son will come'

Other peripheral phrases may be fronted to this pre-subject position, but usually only in cases of strong emphasis. Thus (132) would be a possible variant of (124), but with emphasis on the LP:

- (132) apwa ie nɪpakɪl / piakatɪt ai / l-Ø-am-eliuok
LOC LOC sand /girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk
'It is on the beach that the girl is walking'

When the semantics of the subject can be fully recovered from the person-of-subject and number-of-subject prefixes to the verb, the subject NP may be omitted. In practice, this means that (i) in discourse, subjects are often deleted; and (ii) when the subject is a pronoun, it is usually deleted, and is generally retained only in cases of emphasis. Contrast, for example, (133) with (134):

- (133) n-ak-a-s-ivgɪn
2-CONC-CONT-PL-eat
'You are eating'
- (134) kimia / n-ak-a-s-ivgɪn
you:PL / 2-CONC-CONT-PL-eat
'YOU are eating'

Such pronoun subject deletion is extremely common when the subject pronoun is first or second person. When it is third person, there is, naturally, greater potential for ambiguity, and context will determine whether the subject pronoun can be deleted without obscuring the semantics of the clause.

4.3.2.2. Transitive clauses. Transitive clauses in South-west Tanna are similar in structure to intransitive clauses except that the core requires two NPs: a subject NP preceding the VP, and an object NP following the VP. The VP in a transitive clause may not have an adjective as its head. Peripheral phrases almost always follow the object NP.

- (135)
- | | |
|----|----|
| LP | LP |
| TP | TP |
| DP | DP |
| BP | BP |
| IP | IP |
| CP | CP |
- transitive
clause → NP + VP + NP + () + () + (...)

As with intransitive clauses, subject pronouns may be deleted. TPs are often fronted, other peripheral phrases are occasionally fronted.

Again, the simplest examples of transitive clauses are of cores only:²⁴

- (136) kuli aan / l-Ø-am-aan / nauga tiksin
dog DEM:3 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-eat / meat some
'That dog is eating some meat'
- (137) niamha / tukw-l-Ø-as / iou
anger / FUT-3SG-CONC-bite / me
'I will get angry'
- (138) pukaliakatit e / l-Ø-am-gin-kin / kilhiavin
boy DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-fear-TRANS/shark
'This boy is afraid of sharks'

These cores may be expanded by the addition of peripheral phrases. (Note also the omission of pronoun subject NPs in examples (140) and (141).)

- (139) kwan ai / l-imn-ilai / nai mina / kafa-k
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-cut / tree PL / BENEF-1SG
'That man cut down the trees for me'
- (140) tukwnaho / n-ak-ha-lihu / kopwiel e / ie iapiuan
day:after:tomorrow / 2-CONC-PL-put / stone DEM:1 / LOC river
'The day after tomorrow you will put this stone in the river'
- (141) l-n-vha-pwa ta / pukah kilalu / kimi amlu / tukw lim-mlu
3SG-PF-give-DIR:1 already / pig two / DAT us:EX:DU/CAUS father-LEX:DU
'He gave the two of us two pigs because of our father (e.g. in compensation for his death, or as a repayment for something he did)'
- (142) pukaliakatit / l-imn-huopnii / kuli / ie nau
boy / 3SG-PST-kill / dog / INST knife
'A boy killed a/the dog with a knife'

A third person singular object pronoun is normally deleted. Its inclusion denotes emphasis; contrast (143) and (144):

- (143) piakatit ai / l-imn-am-kwasig-kin
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-follow-TRANS
'The girl was following him'
- (144) piakatit ai / l-imn-am-kwasig-kin / in
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-follow-TRANS / him
'It was him that the girl was following'

Other pronoun objects, however, may not normally be deleted:

- (145) piakatit ai / l-imn-am-kwasig-kin / aliu
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-follow-TRANS / them:DU:OBJ
'The girl was following the two of them'

Out of context, example (143) can only refer to a singular third person pronoun object. In context, it is possible that example (143) could be used as an alternative to (145), but to avoid any possible ambiguity, (145) would be the preferred structure.

There are a few contexts in which the object can be fronted to sentence-initial position. This occurs quite often when the verb is impersonal (see 3.1.1.8. above), and may also occur when strong emphasis is being placed on the object. Example (146) below shows a fronted object with an impersonal verb, while (147) shows an emphatic fronted object:

- (146) nɪpwan kafa-k / k-uan-ɪlai
banana POS-1SG / 3NSG-PF-cut
'My bananas have been cut down'
- (147) kuli kafa-m / iou / t-i-ak-uh
dog POS-2SG / I / FUT-1EX-CONC-kill
'That dog of yours I'm going to kill'

4.3.2.3. Negative clauses. A negative clause contains the verb *apwah*, to which all verbal affixes are attached, followed by the nominalised form of the 'content-verb' which is to be negated; the nominalisation takes the form of the discontinuous affix *n-...-ien*. A negative intransitive clause thus contains a NP (the nominalised verb) following the VP (*apwah*), and may also contain a number of peripheral phrases:

- (148) negative
 intransitive → NP + negative VP + NOM-V + ...
 clause

The negative forms of examples (121), (123), (127), and (131) above are given below:

- (149) pukah mɪna / k-Ø-a-s-apwah / n-ɪvgɪn-ien
pig PL / 3NSG-CONC-CONT-PL-not / NOM-eat-NOM
'The pigs are not eating'
- (150) nau e / l-Ø-apwah / n-esla-ien
knife DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-not / NOM-sharp-NOM
'This knife is not sharp'
- (151) magau / l-ɪmn-apwah / n-asim-ien / nɪv / kape nɪsɪn-n
Magau / 3SG-PST-not / NOM-work:in:garden-NOM / yesterday / BENE mother-3SG
'Yesterday Magau did not work in the garden for his mother'
- (152) tukwienakwamɪl / nal-k / (tukw-)l-Ø-apwah / n-ua-ien
tomorrow / child-1SG / (FUT-)3SG-CONC-not / NOM-come-NOM
'My son won't come tomorrow'

Similarly, a negative transitive clause has the nominalised verb following the negative VP, with the object NP following this:

- (153) negative
 transitive → NP + negative VP + NOM-V + NP + ...
 clause

The negative forms of (136), (137), (139), and (143) above are given below:

- (154) kuli aan / l-Ø-am-apwah / n-aan-ien / nauga tɪksɪn
dog DEM:3 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-not / NOM-eat-NOM / meat some
'That dog is not eating any meat'
- (155) nɪamha / tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-as-ien / iou
anger / FUT-3SG-CONC-not / NOM-bite-NOM / me
'I will not get angry'
- (156) kwan ai / l-ɪmn-apwah / n-ɪlai-aan / nai mɪna / kafa-k
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-not / NOM-cut-NOM / tree PL / BENE-1SG
'That man did not cut down the trees for me'
- (157) piakatɪt ai / l-ɪmn-am-apwah / n-kwasɪg-kɪn-ien
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-not / NOM-follow-TRANS-NOM
'The girl was not following him'

Note in (157) that the transitive suffix remains attached to the root of the nominalised verb; the same is true of other suffixes (e.g. directionals), though it is not true of the verbal prefixes:

- (158) tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-vha-pwa-ien / n̩tukw / k̩mi iou
 FUT-3SG-CONC-not / NOM-give-DIR:1-NOM / *sugarcane* / DAT me
 'He will not give me the sugarcane'

4.4. Sentences

South-west Tanna sentences may be subdivided into simple sentences, containing one clause, and complex sentences, containing more than one clause. Each of these types has a number of subtypes.

4.4.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences contain one major clause, although a phrase within this clause may itself contain an embedded clause, as discussed in 4.2.2. above. In this section we will briefly examine declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences.

4.4.1.1. Declarative sentences. A South-west Tanna declarative sentence contains a verbless, intransitive, transitive, or negative clause and does not contain any of the distinguishing features of interrogative or imperative sentences, as discussed below. Nearly all the examples given in 4.3. above were examples of declarative sentences, and it seems unnecessary to further exemplify this sentence-type here.

Declarative sentences are also characterised by a particular intonation-pattern. Generally, the end of a declarative sentence shows slowly falling intonation, with a slight rise on the last stressed syllable in the sentence; thus:

- (159) kwan ai / l-i̯mn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu
 fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-kill / pig / LOC:village
 'That man killed a pig in the village'

4.4.1.2. Interrogative sentences. Interrogative sentences are of three basic types. First, the tag ua 'or', when added to the end of a declarative sentence, makes the sentence interrogative:²⁵

- (160) kwan ai / l-i̯mn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu / ua?
 fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-kill / pig / LOC:village / or
 'Did that man kill a pig in the village?'
- (161) n-ak-am-aan / mana / ua?
 2-CONC-CONT-eat / chicken / or
 'Are you eating chicken?'
- (162) tukw-l-Ø-ua / ua?
 FUT-3SG-CONC-come / or
 'Will he come?'

Questions of this type show rising intonation at the end of the sentence, with a slight wavering fall on the ua:

(160a) kwan ai / l-ɪmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu / ua

The second type of question uses one of the interrogative verbal affixes: either the interrogative prefix hau- or the interrogative directional suffix -hie. Since these were discussed in some detail in section 3.1.2. above, we will give just one example of each:

(163) kwan ai / l-ɪmn-hau-uh / pukah / ielkwanu?
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-WH-kill / pig / LOC:village
'How/why did that man kill a pig in the village?'

(164) lɪm-m / l-Ø-am-asokw-hie?
father-2SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-go:to-WH
'Where is your father going?'

Intonation-patterns for this type of question are the same as for statements:

(163a) kwan ai / l-ɪmn-hau-uh / pukah / ielkwanu

The third type of question uses a special interrogative word in one of the non-verbal phrases in the sentence. The interrogative words which can be so used are:

pa (plural nɪpa)	'who?, whom?'
naha	'what?'
naghɪn	'when? (past)'
tukwnaghɪn	'when? (future)'
ihie	'where?'
favɪn	'which?, where?' (modifier)

Some examples follow:

(165) pa / l-ɪmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu?
who / 3SG-PST-kill / pig / LOC:village
'Who killed a pig in the village?'

(166) n-ɪmn-aam / pa?
2-PST-see / who
'Whom did you see?'

(167) n-ɪmn-uh / pukah kape nɪ-pa?
2-PST-kill / pig POS PL-who
'Whose pigs did you kill?'

(168) nɪsɪn-m / l-Ø-am-elhakhɪn / naha?
mother-2SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-look:for / what
'What is your mother looking for?'

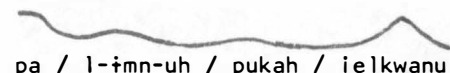
(169) l-Ø-a-mha / tukw naha?
3SG-CONC-CONT-sick / CAUS what
'Why is he sick?'

(170) naghɪn / l-ɪmn-ua?
when:past / 3SG-PST-come
'When did he come?'

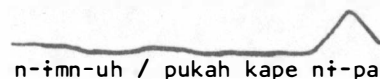
- (171) tukwnaghin / tukw-l-Ø-ua?
when:future / FUT-3SG-CONC-come
'When will he come?'
- (172) pukah mina / ihie?
pig PL / where
'Where are the pigs?'
- (173) n-ak-am-ala / ikin favin?
2-CONC-CONT-live / place which
'Where do you live?'

The intonation-patterns in sentences such as these are the same as for declarative sentences, except that the pitch rises rather higher on the interrogative word:

(165a) pa / l-imn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu



(167a) n-imn-uh / pukah kape ni-pa



4.4.1.3. Imperative sentences. Imperative sentences are of two types, regular and polite. Regular imperative sentences have the same structure as declarative sentences, except that the subject NP is usually omitted; it may, however, be present as a kind of vocative initiator of the sentence, but in such cases it is usually separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause:

- (174) s-akwita!
PL-sit
'Sit down (all of you)!'
- (175) aan / n-ivgin-ien na-m!
eat / NOM-eat-NOM POS:eat-2SG
'Eat your food!'
- (176) kimia, s-akwita!
you:PL, PL-sit
'All of you, sit down!'
- (177) tion, aan / n-ivgin-ien na-m!
John, eat / NOM-eat-NOM POS:eat-2SG
'John, eat your food!'

Intonation-patterns for such imperative sentences are similar to those in declarative clauses, in that they end in a rise-fall; however, the general fall over the whole sentence is much greater than that in a declarative sentence:

(175a) aan / n-ivgin-ien na-m



Polite imperatives use the future tense, with or without subject NP, and the verbal modifier *lu* 'trying: to':

- (178) t-Ø-ak-s-akwita lu!
FUT-2-CONC-PL-sit trying:to
'Would you all mind sitting down?'

(179) tion, t-Ø-ak-aan lu / n-ivgɪn-ien na-m!

John, FUT-2-CONC-eat trying:to / NOM-eat-NOM POS:eat-2SG

'John, please eat your food!'

The intonation pattern for such sentences is similar to that of regular imperatives, although the sharpness of the fall is perhaps not so great.

4.4.2. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of at least two clauses, which are either independently conjoined or are in a relation of dependence one upon the other. A number of types of complex sentences will be discussed below.

4.4.2.1. Connected or sequential action. When two clauses represent connected actions, they may be joined by the conjunction *kini* 'and':

(180) lɪm-k / l-ɪmn-ua / kini / i-em-la-vɪn / ie hospitɪl

father-1SG / 3SG-PST-come / and / 1EX-PST-DU-go / LOC hospital

'My father came and the two of us went to the hospital'

If the actions are sequential and the speaker wishes to indicate this fact, then the tense/aspect prefix *epi-* (see 3.1.1.5.) must be used in the verb of the second clause:

(181) lɪm-k / l-ɪmn-ua / kini / i-epi-la-vɪn / ie hospitɪl

father-1SG / 3SG-PST-come / and / 1EX-SQ-DU-go / LOC hospital

'My father came and then the two of us went to the hospital',

'Once my father had come, the two of us went to the hospital'

In narrative discourse, *kini* is frequently followed by the demonstrative *ai* DEM:PR or by the verbal modifier *ɪma* 'just' + *ai*, with the sense 'and next, and then'. (Note that *ɪma* has an allomorph *ɪmi* before *ai*.) Numerous examples of these combinations can be found in the two texts in the next section, especially 5.2.

Where the subject of the second verb in a connected or sequential action sentence is either the same as the subject of the first verb or else meets the other requirements laid down in section 3.1.1.4. above, the person-of-subject prefix *m-* AND will occur on the second (and subsequent) verbs, and in these cases *kini* may be omitted:

(182) l-ɪmn-uh / mana / m-vaan / m-aan / kini / m-apɪl

3SG-PST-kill / chicken / AND-roast / AND-eat/ and / AND-sleep

'He killed the chicken, roasted and ate it, and then went to sleep'

4.4.2.2. Adversative sentences. In an adversative sentence, the second clause is introduced by *melɪg* 'but'. The verb of the second clause may take the prefix *m-* AND under the same conditions as clauses introduced by *kini* 'and':

(183) i-emn-ua / niɪv / melɪg / n-ak-lkak

1EX-PST-come / yesterday / but / 2-CONC-not:be

'I came yesterday but you weren't here'

- (184) l-imn-elhakɪn / kuli kapa-n / melɪg / m-am-apwah / n-aam-ien
 3SG-PST-look:for / dog POS-3SG / but / AND-CONT-not / NOM-see-NOM
'He looked for his dog but he couldn't find it'

4.4.2.3. Alternative sentences. In an alternative sentence, the clauses are joined by ua 'or'; again, m- AND may be used in the second clause under the conditions discussed above:

- (185) l-imn-avɪn / ie nɪpe / ua / m-imn-am-ol / ielkwanu?
 3SG-PST-go / LOC dance / or / AND-PST-CONT-do / LOC:village
'Did he go to the dance or stay at home?'

4.4.2.4. Reason sentences. In a reason sentence, the second clause is introduced by melɪginai 'because':²⁶

- (186) l-imn-avɪn / Imlau / melɪginai / nɪamha / l-Ø-am-as / nɪsɪn-n mɪne lɪm-n
 3SG-PST-go / Imlau / because / anger / 3SG-CONC-CONT-bite / mother-3SG and
 father-3SG
'He went to Imlau because his mother and father are angry'

4.4.2.5. Quotative sentences. Quotative sentences contain a verb of speaking in the first clause and the quotation in the final clause. They often, in addition, contain the quotative verb mɪma before the quotation:

- (187) l-im-ni / kɪmi iou / m-mɪma / 't-Ø-ak-lelɪg lu'
 3SG-PST-say / DAT me / AND-quote / FUT-2-CONC-go:back trying:to
'He said to me, "Would you please go back?"'

4.4.2.6. Purpose sentences. Purpose sentences contain a clause introduced by the conjunction mɪma 'that':

- (188) t-i-ak-vɪn / ie tukwas / mɪma / iou / t-i-ak-aam
 FUT-1EX-CONC-go / LOC mountain / that / I / FUT-1EX-CONC-see
'I will go to the mountain so that I can see for myself'

4.4.2.7. Sentential complements. Complements are also introduced by mɪma 'that':²⁷

- (189) i-ak-hetelakɪn / mɪma / tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-ua-ien
 1EX-CONC-know / that / FUT-3SG-CONC-not / NOM-come-NOM
'I know that he won't come'
- (190) i-ak-olkeikei / iik / mɪma / t-Ø-ak-avhiu / kafa-k / nimwa
 1EX-CONC-want / you / that / FUT-2-CONC-build / BENEF-1SG / house
'I want you to build me a house'

4.4.2.8. Conditional sentences. When the condition relates to the future, the conditional clause is introduced by tukwmah 'if'; the main clause may be preceded by toko 'then':

- (191) tukwmah / t-i-ak-au / tukwienakwamɪl / toko / t-Ø-ak-aam / iou
if / FUT-LEX-CONC-come / tomorrow / then / FUT-2-CONC-see / me
'If I come tomorrow, (then) you will see me'
- (192) tukwmah / nehen / l-Ø-lkak / t-i-ak-apwah / n-ala-ien / ielkwanu
if / rain / 3SG-CONC-not:be / FUT-LEX-CONC-not / NOM-stay-NOM / LOC:village
'If it doesn't rain, I won't stay at home'

Past (and therefore contrary-to-fact) conditions have the same structure, except that the conditional clause is introduced by kipimah 'if':

- (193) kipimah / nehen / l-epi-p / niɪv / toko / iou / iimwa
if / rain / 3SG-SQ-rain / yesterday / then / I / LOC:house
'If it had rained yesterday, then I would have stayed at home'
- (194) kipimah / nehen / l-epi-apwah / n-p-ien / niɪv / toko / i-epi-vɪn / ie nɪpe
if / rain / 3SG-SQ-not / NOM-rain-NOM / yesterday / then / LEX-SQ-go /
LOC dance
'If it hadn't rained yesterday, then I would have gone to the dance'

5. TEXTS

The two stories below were told to me by Tom Hiua, of Iounhanin village. Each text is given morpheme-by-morpheme in South-west Tanna (Nivhaal dialect), with corresponding morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses; a slash in the South-west Tanna text represents a clause boundary. Notes on the text and a free English translation follow.

5.1. Nivaru

- 1 Nivaru mine Nula — kapa-n pilavin ai Nivaru,
Nivaru and Nula — POS-3SG wife DEM:PR Nivaru,
 kapa-n ielmaan Nula — k-ɪm-u-akwita apwa pihiaak
POS-3SG husband Nula — 3NSG-PST-DU-sit LOC east
 ielkwan nɪpɪg iahul Ø-n-am-eliuok / m-ua /
LOC:bush time volcano 3SG-INCH-CONT-walk AND-come
 m-akwita ie pihui (Lamwinu) / m-telhau ikin /
AND-sit LOC north (Lamwinu) AND-go:out place
- 5 m-am-asokw-hakta / m-n-am-asokw-vhiaak / kopwiel
AND-CONT-go:to-DIR:UP AND-INCH-CONT-go:to-DIR:E stone
 mina mufaam tiksin k-s-aap / m-s-asokw-pihui /
PL all some 3NSG-PL-run:away AND-PL-go:to-DIR:N
 tiksin m-s-asokw-hakta / tiksin k-s-aap /
some AND-PL-go:to-DIR:UP some 3NSG-PL-run:away
 m-am-ha-vin ikuplaah / kini kapa-n pilavin Nivaru
AND-CONT-PL-go Whitesands and POS-3SG wife Nivaru
 na-tukw-l-ni-pin tukw Nula / pwah la / kilau
INT-FUT-3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT Nula let now we:IN:DU

- 10 k-la-telhau / tukwmah iahul l-ua / m-u-akwatelu-kin
 1IN-DU-go:out if volcano 3SG-come AND-DU-stay:hide-TRANS
 alau / meliginai pilavin in l-am-gin pik /
 us:IN:DU:OBJ because woman she 3SG-CONT-fear very:much
 m-u-hekimteel / l-ni-pin tukw kapa-n ielmaan / i-ua /
 AND-DU-get:up 3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT POS-3SG husband ?-come
 m-ula / kapa-n ielmaan l-ni-pin tukw un /
 AND-go:first POS-3SG husband 3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT her
 l-ima / i-ua m-ula / kini ai in
 3SG-quote ?-come AND-go:first and DEM:PR she
- 15 l-am-aiu okwupwin / m-u-aiu / m-u-aiu / m-u-aiu /
 3SG-CONT-run in:front AND-DU-run AND-DU-run AND-DU-run
 Ø-n-elhelha / mima kapa-n ielmaan l-am-eliuok mala /
 3SG-PF-look:back that POS-3SG husband 3SG-CONT-walk slow
 l-ni-pin tukw un / l-ima / i-ua / m-ula /
 3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT him 3SG-quote ?-come AND-go:first
 melig l-ima / ula / kilau ima k-la-vin etamweekw
 but 3SG-quote go:first we:IN:DU just 1IN-DU-go place
 kilikiana / k-u-aiu / m-la-si-vhiaak / m-la-vin /
 one 3NSG-DU-run AND-DU-come:from-DIR:E AND-DU-go
- 20 m-la-vin / m-la-vin / m-u-ala ipaka tukw tahik /
 AND-DU-go AND-DU-go AND-DU-stay near DAT sea
 l-elhelha / m-aam kapa-n hualu / l-am-kwasig
 3SG-look:back AND-see POS-3SG old:man 3SG-CONT-follow
 mala ima / l-akwlig ila-n / eliuok / m-ua /
 slow just 3SG-talk:harsh LOC-3SG walk AND-come
 kilau kwiskwis ima / melig l-ima / am-okwupwin /
 we:IN:DU together just but 3SG-quote CONT-be:in:front
 kilau ima k-la-vin / k-la-vin lenkalkal tahik /
 we:IN:DU just 1IN-DU-go 3NSG-DU-go LOC:side sea
- 25 l-elhelha / m-aam / l-kwasig / l-ima / ula / aiu
 3SG-look:back AND-see 3SG-follow 3SG-quote go:first run
 okwupwin kilau mukwis / kapa-n pilavin l-aiu okwupwin /
 in:front we:IN:DU together POS-3SG wife 3SG-run in:front
 m-asokw-vila ie tahik / m-elhelha / m-aam kapa-n
 AND-go:to-DIR:W LOC sea AND-look:back AND-see POS-3SG
 ielmaan / Ø-n-am-akwita pihiaak / l-ima /
 husband 3SG-INCH-CONT-sit east 3SG-quote
 t-Ø-ak-ua ua? / melig l-ima / am-kwate en /
 FUT-2-CONC-come or but 3SG-quote CONT-stay DEM:2
- 30 pwah / i-ak-am-kwate / am-kwate en / pwah /
 let LEX-CONC-CONT-stay CONT-stay DEM:2 let
 n-elmama tu-k-Ø-s-eliuok / m-s-hakta ie tukl-m
 PL-person FUT-3NSG-CONC-PL-walk AND-PL-go:up LOC top-2SG

m-s-ivkii kapa-m-kapwa / nauniin ai
 AND-PL-defecate:on POS-2SG-head end DEM:PR

Free Translation

Nívaru and Nula – Nívaru was the wife and Nula the husband – were sitting in the bush in the east at the time when the volcano was walking around, when it came and sat down in the north at Lamwinu, and then left there and went south and then east – when all the stones ran away, some to the north, some to the south, and some to Whitesands. Well, Nívaru started to say to Nula, "Let's leave for the volcano might come and cover us up", for she was a woman and very frightened. So they got up and she said to her husband, "Come, you go first". But her husband said to her, "Come, you go first". And so she ran in front, and the two of them ran and ran and ran and when she looked back she saw that her husband was walking slowly, so she said to him, "Come, go in front", but he said, "You go first; the two of us are going to the same place". The two of them ran from the east and went on and stopped beside the sea; and she looked back and saw her husband way behind, following very slowly; and she spoke crossly to him, "Walk here so the two of us are together". But he said, "Just go in in front; the two of us will go as we are". They went to the edge of the sea, and she looked back and saw him behind and said, "You go and run in front so that the two of us are together". But the wife ran in front and went into the sea and looked back and saw her husband beginning to sit down on the shore, and she said, "Are you coming?". But he said, "Just you stay there and let me stay here". But she said, "You just stay there and people will come on top of you and shit on your head". And that's the end.

Notes

- 3 nɪpɪg iahul Ø-n-am-eliuok: The next text gives some background on when the volcano was walking around.
- 5 Note the use of -hakta DIR:UP to mean 'south'.
- 8 ikuplaah: Whitesands is on the central east coast of Tanna.
- 9 na-tukw-l-ni-pɪn shows the one occasion in which the intentional prefix na- was freely elicited.
- 11 in: The pronoun subject used for emphasis.
- 12 i-ua: I was unable to find the meaning or function of i- (which occurs, always with this verb, in a few other places in the text).
- 21 hualu 'old man' is often used, in a respectful sense, for 'husband'.
- 22 akwɪg is one of a few verbs which take datives with ie.
- 23 kwiskwis: Note the relationship with -kwis ASSOC (and cf. also mukwis in 26).
- 31, Nívaru was turned into stone, and can still be seen offshore at Blacksand
- 32 Beach, south of Imlau. Nula, however, was also turned into stone, but since he remained onshore, people could walk around in the bush and defecate on top of him.

5.2. Mwig

- 1 k-am-olpe lakwukak mine lounhanin / kini
 3NSG-CONT-dance Iakwukak and Iounhanin and
 mwig l-ua ie nipe / m-s-olpe / kini ai
 earthquake 3SG-come LOC dance AND-PL-dance and DEM:PR
 Ø-n-vhiaak / m-n-am-av+n / kini piamil kilalu
 3SG-PF-go:east AND-PF-CONT-go and woman:DU two
 k-a-la-kwasig-kin / kini m-u-olip+n / l-am-niahu
 3NSG-CONT-DU-follow-TRANS and AND-DU-follow 3SG-CONT-block
- 5 aliu / kini ai k-u-apwah / m-am-u-alel
 them:DU:OBJ and DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-refuse AND-CONT-DU-stand
 l-vhiaak / m-telhau-p+n lounhanin / kini ai
 3SG-go:east AND-go:out-DIR:3 Iounhanin and DEM:PR
 k-u-olip+n / kini ai l-am-niahu aliu / mel+g
 3NSG-DU-follow and DEM:PR 3SG-CONT-block them:DU:OBJ but
 k-u-apwah / m-am-u-olkeikei / kini k-lh-vhiaak /
 3NSG-DU-refuse AND-CONT-DU-like and 3NSG-TR-go:east
 m-lh-v+n / kini imi ai l-ol nehen / l-am-uh
 AND-TR-go and just DEM:PR 3SG-make rain 3SG-CONT-hit
- 10 alisil / k-lh-v+n / m-lh-v+n / m-lh-v+n / m-lh-eliet
 them:TR:OBJ 3NSG-TR-go AND-TR-go AND-TR-go AND-TR-arrive
 ikin apwa iimwa-n ikin / kini imi ai l-eivi
 place LOC POS:LOC-3SG place and just DEM:PR 3SG-pull:out
 napwil / kini m-lh-au-lu-p+n / kini l-ala / m-eivi
 wall and AND-TR-enter-DIR:3 and 3SG-stay AND-pull:out
 mun kiliik / kini ai k-lh-au-lu-p+n / kini ai
 again DEM:IND and DEM:PR 3NSG-TR-enter-DIR:3 and DEM:PR
 l-eivi iame n-faam-ien / kini ai
 3SG-pull:out the:one NOM-be:all-NOM and DEM:PR
- 15 k-lh-au-lu-p+n / kini imi ai piamil
 3NSG-TR-enter-DIR:3 and just DEM:PR woman:DU
 k-n-u-okwiaai / kini l-hel napw / k-u-olkapkin /
 3NSG-INCH-DU-cold and 3SG-blow fire 3NSG-DU-do:like:that
 k-u-akwita / m-u-olkapkin / m-la-v+n / m-la-v+n /
 3NSG-DU-sit AND-DU-do:like:that AND-DU-go AND-DU-go
 kini ai m-n-a-la-vikouiam / kini imi ai
 and DEM:PR AND-INCH-CONT-DU-sleepwalk and just DEM:PR
 l-hakta / m-ikel ie luau / kini m-llu-kilav+n /
 3SG-go:up AND-hang LOC ridgetpole and AND-hang-flying:fox
- 20 kini ai niml-n l-iel / kini nelam-n mine
 and DEM:PR eye-3SG 3SG-come:out and tongue-3SG and
 l-iel / kini ai nhinakwa-n l-am-llu-kwiliel /
 3SG-come:out and DEM:PR spittle-3SG 3SG-CONT-rain
 kini imi ai k-u-akwita / m-am-u-apil /
 and just DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-sit AND-CONT-DU-sleep

- m-am-u-ɪlɪg nhinakwa-n / l-am-ɪlukwɪliel / kɪni ɪmi
 AND-CONT-DU-perceive spittle-3SG 3SG-CONT-rain and just
 ai k-u-ɪlha / mɪma tu-k-Ø-u-ol / m-u-aam /
 DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-wake that FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-do AND-DU-see
- 25 l-am-ɪkel / kɪni ɪmi ai nelam-n mɪne nɪml-n
 3SG-CONT-hang and just DEM:PR tongue-3SG and eye-3SG
 l-ua-iel / kɪni ɪmi ai k-u-hekɪmteel /
 3SG-PF-come:out and just DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-get:up
- m-u-aiu / m-la-vɪn ie (kona ie napwɪl) nɪkɪs ie
 AND-DU-run AND-DU-go LOC (corner POS wall) corner POS
 napwɪl / kɪni ɪmi ai l-ɪta ɪmi ai /
 wall and just DEM:PR 3SG-let:go just DEM:PR
- m-ɪohu / m-ɪlɪpw aliu / m-vɪn ɪmi ai /
 AND-jump:down AND-follow them:DU:OBJ AND-go just DEM:PR
- 30 m-lɪh kɪliik / m-ahɪpwu / kɪni m-am-aan / m-aan /
 AND-pick:up DEM:IND AND-smash and AND-CONT-eat AND-eat
 m-apwah nɪsinau-n / l-am-akwɪta / kɪni m-lɪh
 AND-refuse intestine-3SG 3SG-CONT-sit and AND-pick:up
 mun kɪliik / m-ɪlaptelakɪn / m-ahɪpwu / m-am-aan /
 again DEM:IND AND-hold AND-smash AND-CONT-eat
 m-aan ai / m-apwah nɪsinau-n / l-am-akwɪta /
 AND-eat DEM:PR AND-refuse intestine-3SG 3SG-CONT-sit
 kɪni ai m-elpwu nɪtukw / nɪtukw ai /
 and DEM:PR AND-snap sugarcane sugarcane DEM:PR
- 35 m-apwupw-kɪn / m-apwupw / m-apwupw-kɪn
 AND-clean:mouth-TRANS AND-clean:mouth AND-clean:mouth-TRANS
 ai / kɪni ai k-hen nhag-n ai kɪma
 DEM:PR and DEM:PR 3NSG-call name-3SG DEM:PR like
 n-apwupw-kape-mwig / kɪni ai k-am-ahu /
 NOM-clean:mouth-POS-earthquake and DEM:PR 3NSG-CONT-plant
 k-elietɪ touei / nauniin ai
 3NSG-arrive today end DEM:PR

Free Translation

There was a dance at Iakwukak and Iounhanɪn, and Mwig (the earthquake) came to it, and they all danced. And then Mwig went away to the east. But two women were following him, and they followed him but he stopped them and wouldn't let them follow him. So they stopped and he went east and left Iounhanɪn. And they followed him and he stopped them, but they didn't want to be stopped, because they liked him. So the three of them went off to the east, and he made it rain and it rained on them. They went on and on and eventually arrived at his place. And he pulled out the wall and they went in. And he stayed and then pulled out more of the wall and they went in. And he pulled out all the wall and they went in. Then the two women began to feel cold, so he blew into the fire, and they sat there like that, on

and on until they began to sleepwalk. So he climbed up and hung from the ridgepole — hung like a flying-fox. And his eyes fell out, and his tongue also, and his spittle rained down. And the two women who were sleeping felt his spittle raining down and woke up and tried to see what was happening. He was hanging there and his tongue and his eyes had fallen out. So the two of them got up and ran to the corner of the wall. But he let go and jumped down and followed them. Then he picked up one and crushed her and ate her, but he did not want the intestines, so they stayed there. And then he picked up the other one and held her and crushed her and ate her, but he did not want the intestines so they stayed there. Then he broke some sugarcane and cleaned out his mouth with it. And they call that place 'Mwig's mouth-cleaning', and they plant things there still today. And that's the end.

Notes

This story is about the time when the volcano and the earthquake were wandering Tanna trying to find somewhere to settle down.

- 3 piamil: Probably a contraction of pian mil (women DU).
- 14 iame seems to be cognate with relative-clause introducers in other Tanna languages, but does not seem to be functioning in the same way here.
- 19 m-i-lu-kilavɪn: Note one of the very few verbs compounded of verb + noun; luau: a Lenakel form.
- 27 (kona ie napwɪl) is an intrusion of a Bislama word kona; the South-west Tanna word nɪkɪs was remembered almost immediately afterwards. Note, however, that the Bislama loan adapts to the grammatical system — in this case, passive possession.
- 31, The significance of the intestines remaining behind is not apparent
- 33 to me.

6. VOCABULARY

6.1. South-west Tanna vocabulary

This section contains a list of almost eight hundred South-west Tanna lexical and grammatical morphemes. The grammatical category of each morpheme is given immediately after the morpheme itself: V = verb, A = adjective, N = noun, M = modifier. Where data are insufficient to decide whether a given morpheme is a verb or an adjective, the abbreviation V/A has been used. Morphemes without such a category indicator will generally be grammatical affixes of some kind.

Alphabetisation follows the English system; kw follows k, mw follows m, pw follows p, and ɪ follows i. Subscript numerals identify homophonous but semantically unrelated forms (e.g. aa_{n1} 'to eat', aa_{n2} 'that (yonder)'). Different but related meanings of the same form are indicated by numerals (e.g. ai_u '1. to flow; 2. to run').

Other abbreviations are as follows:

adj. adjective
cf. cross-reference to other items
exc. exclusive
inc. inclusive
intr. intransitive
k.o. kind of
LwB loan from Bislama
LwL loan from Lenakel

n. noun
obj. object
PRO marks possessive suffix
s.o. someone
sth. something
tr. transitive
var. variant of, allomorph of
voc. vocative
'...' form given thus can not be further specified

A

a- var. of am- continuative aspect prefix
aa₁ V var. of avin *to go*
aa₂ M var. of aan₂ *that (yonder)*
aalh V *to laugh*
aam₁ V *to urinate*
aam₂ V *to see, to find*
aan₁ V *to eat (tr.)*
aan₂ M *that (yonder); ikin aan there*
aap V *to run away*
agka N *anchor (LwB)*
ahipwu V *to smash*
ahu V *to plant*
ahum V *to dive*
ai M *the, this, that (previously referred to)*
aikuaas V *to wash sth.*
ainéin V *not to know, to be ignorant of*
aiu V 1. *to flow*
2. *to run*
ak- concurrent aspect prefix
akapil V *to break*
aki V *to scratch*
aklhakin V *to steal*

akn- 1. inchoative aspect prefix
2. var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix
akua-, akuan- perfective aspect prefix
akw V *to be blind; n+ml-n l-akw he is blind*
akwapwa V *to be thirsty*
akwas A *old (of things)*
akwasig M *behind*
akwatelukin V *to stay and hide*
akweuun V/A *to be grey, of hair*
akwi V *to wash s.o., to bathe s.o.*
akwiliin A *full, of a thing*
akwita V *to sit*
akwitakwita V/A *to be round*
akwlig V *to speak harshly or crossly to*
akwlha A *yellow*
al V 1. *to swim*
2. *to wash oneself (intr.)*
ala V *to live, to dwell*
alau N *us (dual inc. obj.)*
alel V *to stand (intr.)*
alha V *to be awake*
alia N *them (plural obj.)*

- aliepomh A *long*
 alis+i N *them* (trial obj.)
 aliu N *them* (dual obj.)
 aliuān V/A *to be warm*
 al+plaa+i V *to split*
 alkip+i N V *to push*
 alk+i+t+i+t A *small*
 aluk+i₁ V *to throw*
 aluk+i₂ V *to forget*
 am- continuative aspect prefix
 amako V *to dance* (of women only)
 amas+i N *us* (trial exc. obj.)
 amaua N *us* (plural exc. obj.)
 amha V/A *to be thick*
 ami V *to urinate*
 amia N *you* (plural obj.)
 amialil V *to urinate*
 amilu N *you* (dual obj.)
 amis+i N *you* (trial obj.)
 am+i+l+ha V *to dream*
 am+i V *to heal*
 amkal+i V *to be hungry*
 amk+i+mik A *dirty*
 amli+ma A *blue, green*
 amlu N *us* (dual exc. obj.)
 amnhaakw V *to sweat*
 amnum V *to drown, to sink* (intr.)
 amwa V *to want, to intend*
 amwha V *to suck*
 ankap M *very, very much*
 apgap+i M *commonplace, of no importance*
 apien V *to smell* (intr.), *to stink*;
 apien vha *fragrant*
 ap+i A *black*
 ap+i V *to sleep*
 apomh A *loud*
 apt+i A *wet*
 apual V *to boil* (intr.), *to be boiling*
 apus V *to be tired, exhausted*
 apwa₁ V *to be bald*
 apwa₂ V *to be cooked*
 apwa₃ location phrase introducer
 apwah₁ V *negative verb, not*
 apwah₂ V *to refuse, not to want*
 apwaihas+i+g+i+v+i N *to taste*
 apwan₁ V/A *to be hot*
 apwan₂ A *hard* (= not soft)
 apwanapwan A *hard* (= not soft)
 (cf. apwan₂)
 apwupw V *to clean out the mouth or clean one's teeth after eating*
 as V *to bite; to burn* (tr., of a fire)
 asan+i N A *strong*
 asiis A *full* (of a person)
 (cf. esiis)
 asiisasiis A *fat* (adj.) (cf. asiis)
 asim V *to garden, to work in the garden*
 as+i+g+i N V *to circumcise*
 as+i V *to hit, to shoot, to pound*
 asik+taa V *to open*
 as+i+l+i+kin V *to clench the teeth*
 asokw- V *to go in a specified direction* (must take a directional suffix)
 atas+i V *us* (trial inc. obj.)
 ataua V *us* (plural inc. obj.)
 atite V *to go down, to descend*
 atiuun V *to show*
 atimw V *to pinch*
 atmunmún V *to murmur, to mumble*
 -atukw 1. reciprocal suffix
 2. reflexive suffix
 aulup+i N V *to go in, to enter*
 avhekin V *to count, to read*

avhiu V *to build*
 avhlekin V *to turn sth. over*
 avliḡ V/A *thin*
 avin V *to go*
 avkikín V *to drag*
 avliḡ V *to wrap, to wrap up*

E

e M *this (near speaker); ikin e here*
 eai V 1. *to float, to drift*
 2. *to swim (in a particular direction)*
 eaihakta V *to float (cf. eai + -hakta)*
 eapin V *to hunt*
 eau V *to cry, to weep*
 ehiag V *to breathe*
 ehiagehiag V *to pant (cf. ehiag)*
 ehui A *sour*
 ehua A *big, wide, fat*
 eikwa V *to lie, to tell lies*
 eivi V *to pull sth. out or aside*
 elag N *a fly*
 eleita V *to be better, best; l-vha ankap m-eleita she is very beautiful*
 elfa V *to be lazy*
 elgaavh V *to spit*
 elhakín V *to look for*
 elhelha V *to look back*
 elieti V *to arrive, to reach*
 eliuok V *to walk*
 elkwaig V *to hide (intr.), to be hidden*
 elpwu V *to snap, to break by snapping*
 eluelua V/A *to be light (= not heavy)*
 em-, emn- var. of imn- past tense prefix
 en M *this, that (near addressee)*

enmwán V *to fall (of dew)*
 enoeno V/A *to be mad, crazy*
 epi- sequential aspect prefix
 es V *to copulate, to have sexual intercourse*
 esiis V *to swell up, to be thick*

esla A *sharp*
 etagil V *to cough*
 etamwheekw N *place; etamwheekw kilikiana the same place*
 etapig V *to shut, to close*
 etkwatukw A *straight, right (= correct)*
 etout V *to tie or wear a lavalava*
 euaiu V *to go down, to descend*
 eukweukw V *to blow strongly (of the wind)*

F

faam V *to be all; n-faam-ien everything*
 fakta N *above*
 favin M *which?; ikin favin where?*
 -fiu var. of -pihiu northwards

G

gin V *to fear, to be afraid*

H

ha A *bad*
 ha- V plural prefix
 hai V *to stab; niamha l-am-hai X X is angry*
 haimilen V *to hurry*
 haio V *to ask*
 hakta V *to go up, to ascend*
 -hakta *upwards, southwards*
 hau- interrogative prefix

-hau N *penis* (ni-PRO-hau)
 hauan A *white*
 hekĩmteel V *to get up (as from sleeping)*
 hekĩn V/A *sweet*
 hel V *to blow sth.; hel naiu to blow a conch*
 hen V *to call, to name*
 hetelakĩn V *to know (sth. or s.o.)*
 helapu V *to blow a fire (cf. hel)*
 hialma M *next*
 -hie *where?*
 hospitĩl N *hospital* (LwB)
 hualu₁ N *old man, husband*
 hualu₂ A *old (of persons)*
 huau A *red*
 hueihuaa M *fast, quick(ly)*
 huopnii V *to kill*

I

i-₁ first person exclusive prefix
 i-₂ agentive prefix
 -i construct possessive suffix
 iahukw N *rat*
 iahul N *volcano*
 iaklha N *a thief* (cf. i-₂, akhakiĩn)
 iakw N *turtle*
 ialmĩh M *different*
 iame N *the one (who)* (plural nĩme)
 iapiuan N *river*
 ie case-marker, marking
 1. location phrases
 2. time phrases
 3. passive possession
 4. instrumental phrases
 ie- var. of i-₂ agentive prefix
 -iehou *downwards, northwards*
 iel V *to come out*
 -iel N *father's sister's son (male speaking)* (kapa-PRO-iel)

ielan N *daytime, day as opposed to night*
 ielki- N *to the place of; ielki nasimien to the garden*
 ielkwaa- N *middle*
 ielkwan N *in the bush*
 ielkwanu N *at, to, or in the village*
 ielkweha N *midday*
 ielmaan N *man (= male), husband*
 ielmama N *person*
 ielmoou N *saltwater eel*
 iemasuul N *big man, chief*
 iemwa N *mother!* (voc.)
 ienaiu N *evening*
 Ienĩtim N *Aneityum (or Anatom) (island)*
 ienpĩg N *night*
 ienpĩgenpĩg N *morning* (cf. ienpĩg)
 ienpĩgĩlu N *midnight* (cf. ienpĩg)
 iesaietĩk N *scorpion*
 ietana N *below*
 ietapeka N *shallow water, the shallows*
 ihi N *squid, octopus*
 ihie N *where?*
 iielia N *spider*
 iik N *you* (singular)
 iimwa N *at home, homewards*
 iimwa-, iimwai possessive-marker (location)
 iimwalĩm N *dance-ground, kava-drinking area* (Bislama nakamal)
 ikin N *place, location; ikin e here; ikin aan there; ikin favĩn where?*
 ikuplaah N *the Whitesands (eastern side of Tanna)* (cf. -plaah)
 il-, ila var. of ie case-marker
 ilaptelakĩn N *to hold*
 ilia N *they* (plural)
 ilisĩl N *they* (trial)

iliu N *they* (dual)
 in N *he, she, it, him, her*
 iohu V *to jump down*
 iou N *I, me*
 ipaka N *near, nearby, close (to)*
 ipwai N *underworld; nal ipwai dream*
 isokw N *far*
 iva V *to fly, to jump*

I

-i construct possessive suffix
 ihuai V *to divide, to separate*
 ikav V *to twist, to bend*
 ikel V *to hang (intr.)*
 ilai V *to cut*
 ilha V 1. *to wake up* (cf. alha)
 2. *to be born*
 ilig V *to perceive: thus to hear,*
 to feel, to smell (sth.);
 i-ak-am-ilig l-apien *I can smell it*
 ilil V *to braid*
 ilip V *to stand sth. upright*
 ilipw V *to follow*
 ilkis V *to tie*
 ilkwilkin V *to sink or drown sth.*
 ilu₁ V *to hang (intr.); ilu-kilavin*
 to hang like a flying-fox
 ilu₂ V/A *to be deaf*
 ilukwiliel V *to fall like raindrops*
 im- var. of imn- past tense prefix
 ima₁ V quotative verb, *to say*
 (followed by a quotation)
 ima₂ M *only, just*
 imha V *to be sore, to be in pain*
 imhil V *to be sore (of the body)*
 imi var. of ima₂ *only, just*
 imig V *to pant, to be short of*
 breath
 imil V *to lie down*

imitit V/A *to be rotten*
 imla V/A *to be cold*
 imn- past tense prefix
 inkiaal V *to speak*
 ipiknap V *to be dark*
 ipsaah V/A *many*
 ipwia A *smooth*
 itrouapig V *to lightning* (LwL)
 isianisian V *to pound*
 ispiil V *to clean, to wipe;*
 i-ak-am-ispiil iou *I am wiping*
 myself, I am drying myself
 ita V *to leave, to let go*
 itu V *to put, to put down*
 ivgin V *to feed, to eat (intr.)*
 ivit V *to wash sth.*
 ivkaa V *to defecate*
 ivkasivkas V *to itch, to be itchy*
 ivkii V *to defecate on*
 ivkil V *to play*
 ivsau V *to tell a story*
 ivsik V/A *to be dry; ivsik tukw X*
 to look after X after his
 circumcision
 ivsikivsik A *hard (= not soft)*
 (cf. ivsik)
 ivtelakin V *to be narrow*
 ivtetelakin V *to squeeze* (cf.
 ivtelakin)

K

k-₁ first person inclusive prefix
 k-₂ third person non-singular
 prefix
 k-₃ instrumental prefix
 -k *my*
 ka- var. of k-₃ instrumental prefix
 kafa- var. of kape- possessive-
 marker and benefactive-marker

- kaha N *grandparent*
 kaka N *brother!* (voc.)
 kakɪl N *adze, digging-stick* (cf. kɪl)
 kalɪn M as in lɪm-n kalɪn *his paternal uncle* (i.e. one he calls father but not his true father)
 kalpa N *club (used in war)*
 kalualua N *thunder*
 kamaam N *fish; kamaam-kapa-nukna porpoise*
 kapa- var. of kape- possessive-marker and benefactive-marker
 kape-, kape 1. possessive-marker (unmarked)
 2. case-marker, marking benefactive phrases
 kapkɪn M *'like that'*
 -kapwa N *head* (kapa-PRO-kapwa)
 kasaua N *headrest, pillow*
 kasɪk N *k.o. ant (large)*
 -kauga N *chin* (ni-PRO-kauga)
 kavhevhu N *hat*
 kel N *louse*
 kilavɪn N *flying-fox*
 kilɪl N *a fan*
 kipimah conjunction, *'if'*, marking past contrary-to-fact conditions
 -kɪ var. of -kɪn transitive postclitic
 kɪl V *to dig*
 kɪlai N *axe* (cf. k-₃ + ɪlai)
 kɪlalu M *two*
 kɪlau N *we* (dual inc.)
 kɪlhiavɪn N *shark*
 kililik M indefinite adjunct: *a, some* (cf. kɪlikiana)
 kɪlikiana M 1. *one*
 2. *the same*
 kɪlkɪl V *to blow gently (of the wind)*
 kɪlkɪlɪp M *five*
 kɪma *like, as*
 kɪmasɪl N *we* (trial exc.)
 kɪmaua N *we* (plural exc.)
 kɪmhau N *star*
 kɪmi case-marker, marking dative phrases
 kɪmia N *you* (plural)
 kɪmilu N *you* (dual)
 kɪmisɪl N *you* (trial)
 kɪmlu N *we* (dual exc.)
 -kɪn transitive postclitic
 kɪni conjunction, *'and'*, joining clauses
 kɪnu N *canoe, boat* (LWB)
 kɪpas N *axe*
 kɪsalkwaskwah N *baby bird*
 kɪsisɪl M *three*
 kɪtasɪl N *we* (trial inc.)
 kɪtaua N *we* (plural inc.)
 kɪvlaiu N *grasshopper*
 kom N *a comb* (LWB)
 kona N *corner* (LWB)
 kopwiel N *stone*
 koupwa N *fence*
 kovamtɪmta N *small child*
 -kúa N *anus* (kapa-PRO-kúa)
 kuas M *four*
 kuhu M *how much?, how many?*
 kuhu- N *father's sister, mother's sister, wife's mother*
 kuhuan N *shellfish*
 -kula N *brain* (ni-PRO-kula)
 kuli N *dog*

KW

- kwa N *chap, fellow* (kwan before a vowel)
 kwakwa A *short*
 kwalei N *sweet potato*

kwaleikwalei N *sweet potato* (cf. kwalei)
 kwalkwau N *ridgepole*
 kwalm- N *hand, arm, branch*
 kwan N *var. of kwa chap, fellow*
 kwanagei N *story, legend*
 kwanai N *rafter(s)*
 kwanaikwanai N *ankle; kwanaikwanai*
 ie nuhu-k *my ankle*
 kwanaikwaskwas N *small rafters* (cf.
 kwanai)
 kwanakau N *rib*
 kwanelaus N *vein, sinew* (cf. nelaus)
 kwanemwin N *earth-oven*
 kwanetan N *small rafters*
 kwanhau N *spear*
 kwanhel- N *egg*
 kwanhelin N *bay, harbour*
 kwanikiatu N *outrigger-boom of canoe*
 kwankwa- N *seed, fruit*
 kwankwulkwul N *stanchions on*
 outrigger
 kwanmetau N *fish-hook*
 kwanmilh N *citrus*
 kwanouier- N *testicle*
 kwanoukók N *kidney*
 kwanpalam N *arrow*
 kwanun- N *seed of breadfruit*
 kwasig₁ V *to follow, to be or go*
 behind
 kwasig₂ *then, next*
 kwatavha N *club (for killing pigs)*
 kwate V *to stay*
 kwatetal N *bamboo pipes (musical)*
 kwatiksín M *a few*
 -kwis *associative suffix*
 kwiskwis M *together* (cf. kwis)
 kwilpas N *heel*
 kwilu N *tooth*
 kwotavha N *heart*

kwughen N *god*
 kwuh V *to weave*
 kwuse M *this, that* (indicated)

L

l- *third person singular prefix*
 la M *now, then*
 la- *dual prefix*
 laan V *to dawn, to be light;*
 l-n-am-laan *it is dawn(ing),*
 l-ua-laan *it is already light*
 lai V *to rub*
 -lakw N *throat, front of neck*
 (ni-PRO-lakw)
 lamustahik N *foam (in the sea)*
 lapalapa N *lavalava, sarong* (LwB)
 lau N *canoe, boat*
 -lau *our* (dual inc.)
 lelíg V *to come back, to go back,*
 to return
 lenkalkal- N *to, at or on the side*
 of (cf. níkalkal-)
 lh- *trial prefix*
 lhi V *to sew*
 -lia *their* (plural)
 lielic N *spiderweb, cobweb*
 lih V *to collect shellfish*
 likamnum N *deep water, the deep*
 -listl *their* (trial)
 -liu *their* (dual)
 ligpúal V *to belch*
 lih V *to carry*
 lihu V *to put, to put down*
 líki- N *mind, voice; líki-k l-am-uh*
 I am thinking
 líkinál N *the bush*
 líkwun V *to know*
 lím- N *father, father's brother*
 límíl N *float of outrigger*

lĩmus N *seaweed*
 lĩpu- N *grandparent*
 lkak V *not to be, not to be there*
 lu M *trying to; l-am-ni-pĩn lu ...*
 he is trying to say ...
 lua V *to vomit*
 luantahik N *lobster, crayfish*
 lúatu N *north-east wind*
 lúatúamlai N *north wind*
 lúatumwĩtua N *north-west wind*
 lukwaikamaam N *freshwater eel*
 lukwanu N *village*
 lukweha N *broad daylight*

M

m- same or identifiable subject
 prefix
 -m *your* (singular)
 magkou N *mango* (LwB)
 makua N *moon*
 mala M *slow(ly)*
 malamala M *soft*
 mama N *mother!* (voc.)
 mana N *bird, chicken, fowl*
 mas V *to be low tide*
 -masĩl *our* (trial exc.)
 matukw M *right (hand or side)*
 -maua *our* (plural exc.)
 maul M *left (hand or side)*
 melaimelai N *rainbow*
 melĩg conjunction, '*but*', joining
 clauses
 melĩginai conjunction, '*because*'
 joining clauses
 mha V *to die, to be sick*
 -mia *your* (plural)
 mil M dual marker in noun phrases
 -milu *your* (dual)

misĩl M trial marker in noun phrases
 -misĩl *your* (trial)
 mĩl₁ N *sun*
 mĩl₂ V *to fall*
 mĩla- N *mother's brother*
 mĩma conjunction, '*that*',
 1. introducing purpose clauses
 2. introducing sentential
 complements
 mĩna M plural marker in noun phrases
 mĩne conjunction, '*and*', joining
 noun phrases
 mĩsia M *dry, as in nĩkien mĩsia*
 dry coconut(s)
 mĩlagh A *to live, to be alive; nal*
 lagh animal
 -mlu *our* (dual exc.)
 mufaam M *all*
 mukupu- N *grandchild*
 mukupuka N *great-grandchild*
 mukwis M *together* (cf. -kwis)
 mumuk N *mosquito*
 mun M *again*

MW

mwaiako N *manioc, tapioca*
 mwakal N *spider*
 mwalamwala N *ant*
 -mwaniip N *dorsal fin* (kapa-PRO-
 mwaniip)
 mwankuiu N *pandanus*
 mwanvhiĩk N *grass* (cf. nĩvhiĩk)
 mwatelg- N *ear*
 mwatĩkalo N *worm*
 mwig N *earthquake*

N

- n-₁ second person prefix
 n-₂ 1. var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix
 2. var. of akn- inchoative aspect prefix
 -n *his, her, its*
 n-...-ien discontinuous nominalising affix
 na-₁ intentional prefix
 na-₂ possessive-marker (possession to be eaten)
 nage N *almond, canarium sp.*
 naghin N *when? (past)*
 naha N *what?*
 nahi- N *breast, milk*
 naho N *the day before yesterday*
 nai₁ N *tree*
 nai₂ var. of na-₂ possessive-marker (possession to be eaten)
 nai₃ var. of nai- possessive-marker (possession to be planted)
 nai- possessive-marker (possession to be planted)
 naienhu- N *shin, tibia*
 niau N *conch shell, conch trumpet*
 nakanmop- N *liver*
 nákapun N *net for fishing*
 nakwatana N *valley*
 nakwokwa N *book*
 nal N *thing, something; nal mlagh animal; nal ipwai dream*
 nal- N *child; used only in first and second singular — with other possessors the form ti- is used*
 nalam- N *flame*
 namkimik N *dirt (cf. amkimik)*
 namsu N *story*
 namtígai N *mud, swamp*
 namwan- N *brother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son (woman speaking)*
 nanmw- N *shadow, spirit (of a person)*
 napua N *cloud*
 napw N *fire*
 napwag- N *hole in sth. (e.g. in tree, rock, but not a hole in the ground)*
 napwíl N *wall (of a house)*
 napwok N *betelnut palm*
 natoga N *east wind*
 nau N *knife*
 nauga N *meat, flesh*
 nauin- N *sister, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter (man speaking)*
 neai N *sky*
 nehe- N *juice of; nehe níkien coconut water, coconut milk*
 nehen N *rain*
 nekw N *yam, year*
 nelam- N *tongue*
 nelaus N *rope*
 nelpul- N *the top of*
 nelpwa N *fat (n.), grease*
 neluankapien N *war*
 nenmwan N *dew (cf. enmwan)*
 nepin N *clothes*
 nerouaiipien N *lightning (LwL)*
 netetau N *tattoo*
 nhag- N *name*
 nhel- N *mouth*
 nhenapw N *smoke (cf. napw)*
 nheniml- M *tears (cf. nehe-, niml-)*
 nhiksíl N *the day before the day before yesterday (cf. kisasíl)*
 nhinakwa- N *spittle*
 ni₁ V *to say; ni nípe to sing*
 ni₂, ní- possessive-marker (possession to be drunk)
 níaku V *to block, to prevent, to obstruct*

- niamha N *anger*; niamha l-am-hai X
 X is angry
 niiv N *yesterday*
 nilh- N *thorn*
 nimwa N *house*
 nimwa- N *nest (of a bird)*
 nivin N *a sail*
 nīgal N *salt*
 nik- N *nape of the neck*
 nikal- N *side, edge*
 nikalkal- N *the side of*
 nikap- N *cheek*
 nikava N *kava*
 nikavkav- N *wing*
 nikien N *coconut*
 nikikilikii- N *bone*
 nikis N *corner*
 niklee- N 1. *chest (anatomical)*
 2. *roof (of a house)*
 nikom no
 nikouisil N *midrib of a coconut*
 frond
 nikpis N *sandalwood (LwL?)*
 niligivi- N *finger nail, toenail*;
 niligivi kwalm- *finger nail*;
 niligivi nuhu- *toenail*
 nim V *to drink*
 nimataag N *wind*
 nimel N *breadfruit*
 nimil N *hole (in the ground)*
 niml- N *eye, face*; vah niml-n *to buy*
 nimlakw N *ashes*
 nimlinhel- N *jaw (possibly niml +*
 nhel-)
 nimokwulul N *dust*
 nimomweinhel- N *beard (cf. nhel-)*
 nimoptana N *ground, island*
 nimwakilakil N *beach, shore*
 nimwal- N *leaf*
 nimwansii- N *buttocks*
 nimwanvhaga N *bow (weapon)*
 nimwapw N *a sore*
 nimwativhata N *shelf*
 nimweitaa- N *back*
 nimwulmwulnhel- N *beard (cf. nhel-)*
 nimwulniml- N *eyebrows (cf. niml-)*
 nipakil N *sand*
 nipalnai N *a stick (cf. nai1)*
 nipe N *song*; ni1 nipe *to sing*
 nipelaap N *west wind*
 nipikou- N *tail*
 nipig N *day (= period of 24 hours),*
 time
 nipin N *banyan*
 niplaa- N *body, trunk (of tree)*;
 niplaa-i nai1 *tree trunk*
 niplig- N *navel*
 nipwaghig- N *nose (cf. napwag-)*
 nipwan N *banana*
 nipwana- N *forehead*
 nipwatakniwa- N *thigh*
 nipwataknuwa- N *neck (front and back)*
 nisi- N *excrement*
 nisinaw- N *guts, intestines*
 nisiu N *lake*
 nisin- N *mother*
 nitau- N *blood*
 nitel N *taro*
 nitip N *basket*
 nitukw N *sugarcane*
 nivea N *a paddle*
 nivei- N *back of the head*
 nivhilik N *grass*; nivhilik ha *weeds*
 (cf. mwanyhilik)
 nivig- N *bark (of a tree)*
 nivsauien N *story (cf. ivsau)*
 nivsilua N *doorway*

nĩvtai- N *the (other) side of*
 noulahi- N *younger sibling of same sex as speaker; also, child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex but younger than speaker*
 noule- N *older sibling of same sex as speaker; also, child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex but older than speaker*
 nu N *fresh water*
 nua-₁ N 1. *shoulder*
 2. *neck, especially near the shoulder*
 nua-₂ N *root*
 nuhu- N *leg, foot*
 nukna N *poison, sorcery; kamaam-kapa-nukna porpoise*
 nukwa- N *fruit*
 nukwaau M *a large number, very many, a crowd of*
 nukwanee- N *hair (on the head)*
 nukwlaskap N *fire-stick*
 nukwtou N 1. *k.o. bracken (Bislama blakpam)*
 2. *arrow (made from blakpam)*
 nukwul- N *knee, elbow; nukwul-ĩ kwalm- elbow; nukwul-ĩ nuhu- knee*
 nukwumus N *hunger; nukwumus l-as iou I am hungry*
 num V *to bury*
 numl- N *hair (on the body), fur, feathers*

O

ok V *to call out; ok l-apomh to call out loudly*
 okiahu V *to be proficient at, to know how to do sth. well*
 oklhekĩn V *to turn around; i-ak-am-oklhekĩn iou I am turning around*
 okwaai V *to pull weeds, to pull up grass*

okwaakw V *(of the eyes) to have cataracts*
 okwag V *to be open*
 okwai V *to weed*
 okwiaai V *to be cold*
 okwiaaikwiaai V *to shiver, to be feverish (cf. okwiaai)*
 okwite V *to have yaws*
 okwlakwul V *to be afraid*
 okwlen V *to call out*
 okwnii V *to poison fish*
 okwupwin₁ N *in front of*
 okwupwin₂ V *to be or go in front of, to precede, to lead*
 ol V *to do, to make*
 olhminakin V *'to be like that'*
 olipĩn V *to follow*
 olkapkin V *to be or do 'like that' (cf. ol + kapkin)*
 olkeikei V *to want, to like*
 olpe V *to dance (of men only); (cf. ol + nipe)*
 omwhen V *to choose*
 ouaah yes
 ouakĩl V *to put one's arms around*
 ouiak V *to shed the skin*
 oulhiaa V *to lose*
 outĩn V/A *difficult, hard (= not easy)*

P

pa N *who?, whom?*
 peau N *a wave*
 pi- var. of epi- *sequential aspect prefix*
 pia- N 1. *sibling of same sex, or child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex — relative age not relevant*
 2. *friend*

piahualu N *old woman* (cf. pian + hualu)
 piakatiit N *girl*
 piamil N *to women* (cf. pian, mil)
 pian N *var. of pilavin woman, wife*
 pianielmis N *widower*
 pihiaak N *the east*
 pihiu N *the north*
 -pihiu *northwards*
 pila N *the west*
 pilavin N 1. *woman, wife*
 2. *father's sister's daughter (man speaking)*
 pik M *a lot, very much*
 pilaah N *the south*
 -pin *away from speaker and addressee*
 pisasuul N *thumb* (cf. pispis-)
 pispis- N *finger, toe; pispis-i kwalm- finger; pispis-i nuhu- toe*
 -plaah *southwards* (cf. pilaah)
 -pna *towards addressee*
 pnaal V/A *big*
 pukah N *pig*
 pukaliakatiit N *boy*
 purum N *broom* (LwB)
 pus V/A *blunt, dull*

PW

-pwa *towards speaker*
 pwah V *to let, to allow*
 pwai N *south/south-west wind*
 pwam V/A *to be heavy*
 pwoupwauk N *butterfly*

S

s- *plural prefix*
 siosio N *tidal wave*

si- V *to come from a specified direction* (must take a directional suffix)
 sig V *to wake s.o. up*
 sikavh N *bêche-de-mer*
 su V *to plant*
 suatukw N *road, path*
 sul V *to comb*

T

t- *future prefix*
 ta M *already, finished, completed*
 tagalua N *(sea)-snake*
 tahik N *sea*
 takwtakwun N *now*
 tapaka N *tobacco* (LwB)
 tapiḡ N *door*
 -tasiḡ *our* (trial inc.)
 tata N *father!* (voc.)
 -taua *our* (plural inc.)
 tavheta N *mat*
 telhau V *to go out*
 ti- N *child* (used with all possessors except first and second person singular, when nal- is used)
 tihi- N *flower*
 til V *to string (as fish)*
 tila N *mast*
 tigi V *to swallow*
 tik V *to hiccup; liki-k l-am-tik I am hiccupping*
 tiki- N *skin, bark*
 tikinau N *bamboo* (cf. tiki-, nau)
 tiksīn M *some*
 timtim V *to be high tide*
 tipage- N *crotch*
 tipu- N *belly*
 tipweua N *stomach*

tɪpwoluelua N *lung(s)*
 toko *then, and so, therefore*
 tokolau N *south-east wind*
 touei N *today*
 toulhaai N *whale*
 tu- var. of t- future prefix
 tukl- N *the top of*
 tukw case-marker, marking
 1. dative phrases
 2. causative phrases
 tukw- var. of t- future prefix
 tukwas N *mountain*
 tukwienakwamɪl N *tomorrow*
 tukwmah conjunction, 'if', marking
 future conditions
 tukwnaghɪn N *when? (future)* (cf.
 naghɪn)
 tukwnaho N *the day after tomorrow*
 (cf. naho)
 tukwnhiksɪl N *the day after the day*
 after tomorrow (cf. nhiksɪl)
 tupwnhel- N *lip* (cf. nhel-)

U

u- dual prefix
 ua₁ V *to come (towards speaker)*
 ua₂ 1. conjunction, 'or', joining
 noun phrases and clauses
 2. question-tag
 ua- var. of akuan- perfective
 aspect prefix
 -ua N *vagina* (kapa-PRO-ua)
 ualu V *to crush with the teeth*
 uan- var. of akuan- perfective
 aspect prefix
 uh V *to hit, to strike, to fight;*
 liki-k I-am-uh I am thinking
 uhum V/A *to be closed, to be shut*
 uk- var. of ak- concurrent aspect
 prefix
 ula V *to come (to addressee)*

uokw V *(of a fire) to burn* (intr.)
 uokwus V *to bear offspring (of*
 an animal)
 uun V *to answer*

V

vaan V *to roast, to cook by roasting*
 (tr.); *(of person) to burn sth.*
 vah V *to hold in the hand; vah*
 niml-n *to buy*
 vha₁ A *good; apien vha fragrant;*
 vha ankap *beautiful*
 vha₂ V/A *to be clean*
 vha- V *to give* (must take directional
 suffix; cf. vhapɪn, vhapna and
 vhapwa below)
 vhapɪn V *to give to him/her/it/them*
 (cf. vha- + -pɪn)
 vhapna V *to give to you* (cf. vha- +
 -pna)
 vhapwa V *to give to me/us* (cf. vha-
 + -pwa)
 vhiaak V *to go east* (cf. pihiaak)
 -vhiaak *eastwards* (cf. pihiaak)
 vi₁ V *to pull*
 vi₂ M *new*
 vikin V *to boil* (tr.), *to cook by*
 boiling (tr.)
 vikouiam V *to sleepwalk*
 -vila *westwards* (cf. pila)
 vin N *saltwater eel*
 vipɪn N *to pour*
 vilaakw N *stringray*
 vin V *to go*
 vinɪs N *flying-fish*

6.2. English finder list

This list is merely an index to the South-west Tanna vocabulary in 6.1., and is not intended as a dictionary of any kind; the full meanings, grammatical categories, etc. of the South-west Tanna forms will be found in 6.1. and not in this section. Further, grammatical affixes, etc., have generally been omitted from this list.

The same abbreviations will be used as were used in 6.1. English verbs will be followed by 'to', and English nouns by 'a' when there may be some confusion as to whether verb or noun is intended (e.g. 'fly, to', 'fly, a'); when no confusion exists, 'to' and 'a' will not be used.

A

a kilik
above fakta
adze kakil
afraid gin, okwlakwul
again mun
alive mlagh
all mufaam, faam
allow pwah
almond nage
already ta
anchor agka
and kini, mine
Aneityum lenitim
anger niamha
angry niamha l-am-uh
animal nal mlagh
ankle kwanaikwanai
answer uun
ant mwalamwala, kastk
anus -kua
arm kwalm-
arrive elieti
arrow kwanpalam, nukwtou
as kima
ascend hakta
ashes nmlakw
ask haio

aunt kuhu-
awake alha
axe kipas, kilai

B

back nimweिताa-
back of head nivel-
bad ha
bald apwa₁
bamboo tikinau
bamboo pipes kwatetal
banana nipwan
banyan nipin
bark (of tree) nivig-, tiki-
basket nitip
bathe (tr.) akwi
bay kwanhelin
be behind kwasig₁
be in front okwupwin
be like that olkapkin, olhminakin
beach nimwakilakil
bear offspring uokwus
beard nimwulmwulnhel-, nimomweinhel-
because meliginai
bêche-de-mer sikavh
behind akwasig
belch ligpual

belly tipu-
below ietana
bend ikav
best eleita
betel napwok
better eleita
big pnaal, ehua
big-man iemasuul
bird mana, kɪsalkwaskwah
bite as
black apig
blind akw
block, to nɪahu
blood nɪtau-
blow kɪlkɪl, eukweukw (wind); hel
 helapu
blue amlɪmla
blunt pus
boat kɪnu, lau
body nɪplaa-
boil vɪkɪn (tr.), apual (intr.)
bone nɪkɪlkɪlii-
book nakwokwa
boom kwanɪkiatu
born, be ɪlha
bow (weapon) nɪmwanhaga
boy pukaliakatɪt
bracken sp. nukwtou
braid, to ɪlɪl
brain -kula
branch kwalm-
breadfruit nɪmel
break akapɪl, elpɜw
breast nahi-
breathe ehiag
broom purum
brother namwan-, noulahi- noule-,
 pia-, kaka

burn as, vaan (tr.), uokw (intr.)
bury num
bush, the lɪkɪnɪl, ielkwan
but melɪg
butterfly pwoupwauk
buttocks nɪmwansii-
buy vah nɪml-n

C

call hen, ok, okwlen
canarium sp. nage
canoe lau, kɪnu
carry lɪh
cataracts okwaakw
chap kwa, kwan
cheek nɪkap-
chest nɪklee-
chicken mana
chief iemasuul
child nal-, ti-, kovatɪmta
chin -kauga
choose omwhen
circumcise asɪgɪn
citrus kwanmɪlh
clean, to ɪspiɪl, apwupw
clean, be vha₂
clench teeth asɪtɪlakɪn
close to ipaka
close, to etapɪg
closed uhun
clothes nepɪg
cloud napua
club kalpa, kwatavha
coconut nɪkien
cold okwiaai, ɪmla
collect shellfish lɪh
comb, to sul

comb, a kom
come ua₁, ula, si- (from), lelīg
 (back), iel (out)
commonplace apgapīg
completed ta
conch shell naiu
cook vikin, vaan (tr.), apual
 (intr.)
cooked apwa₂
copulate es
corner nikis, kona
cough, to etagil
count avhekīn
cousin noule-, noulahi-, -iel,
 pilavīn
crayfish luantahik
crazy enoeno
crotch tipage-
crowd, of nukwaau
crush ualu (with teeth)
cry eau (= weep), okwlen (= call)
cut ilai

D

dance olpe (men), amako (women)
dance-ground iimwalim
dark ipiknap
dawn, to laan
day nipig, ielan
daylight lukweha
daytime ielan
deaf ilu₂
deep likamnum
defecate ivkaa, ivkii
descend euaiu, atite
dew nenmwan
die mha
different ialmih

difficult outin
dig kil
digging-stick kakil
dirt namkimik
dirty amkimik
dive ahum
divide ihuai
do ol
do like that olkapkin
dog kuli
door tapig
doorway nīvsilua
dorsal fin -mwaniip
downwards -iehou
drag avkikīn
dream, a nal ipwai
dream, to amilila
drift eai
drink nim
drown ilkwilkin (tr.), amnum
 (intr.)
dry ivsik
dry coconut nikien misia
dull pus
dust nimokwīl

E

ear mwatelg-
earth-oven kwanemwin
earthquake mwig
east pihiaak
east wind natoga
eastwards -vhiaak
eat aan₁, ivgin
edge nikal-
eel ielmoou, vin, lukwaikamaam
egg kwanhel-

elbow nukwul-
 enter aulupin
 evening ienaiu
 excrement n+si-
 exhausted apus
 eye n+ml-
 eyebrows nimwuln+ml-

F

face n+ml-
 fall ml₂, +lukw+iel; enmwan (dew)
 fan, a kilil
 far isokw
 fast hueihuaa
 fat, be ehua, asiisasiis
 fat (=grease) nelpwa
 father lim-, tata
 fear, to gin
 feather numl-
 feed, to +vgin
 fellow kwa, kwan
 fence koupwa
 feverish okwiaaikwiaai
 few kwatiks+in
 fight uh
 fin -mwaniip
 find aam₂
 finger pisp+is-
 fingernail n+lig+vi-
 finished ta
 fire napw
 fire-stick nukwlaskap
 fish kamaam
 fish-hook kwanmetau
 five kilkilip
 flame nalam-
 flesh nauga

float, to eai, eaihakta
 float, a lim+il
 flow aiu
 flower tihi-
 fly, to iva
 fly, a elag
 flying-fish v+ins
 flying-fox kilav+in
 foam lamustahik
 follow +lipw, olip+in, kwas+ig₁
 foot nuhu-
 forehead nipwana-
 forget aluk+in₂
 four kuas
 fowl mana
 fragrant apien vha
 friend pia-
 in front okwupw+in
 fruit nukwa-, kwankwa-
 full asiis, akwiliin
 fur numl-

G

garden, to asim
 garden, a nasimien
 get up hek+imteel
 girl piakat+it
 give vha-, vhap+in, vhapna, vhapwa
 go v+in, av+in, aa₁, asokw-
 go back lel+ig
 go behind kwas+ig
 go down euaiu, atite
 go east vha+ak
 go in front okwupw+in
 go inside aulup+in
 go out telhau
 go up hakta

god kwughen
good vha₁
grandchild mukupu-
grandparent lipu-, kaha
grass mwanvhiik, niivhiik
grasshopper kivlaiu
grease nelpwa
great-grandchild mukupuka
green amlimla
grey (hair) akweuun
ground nimoptana
guts nisinau-

H

hair nukwane- (*head*), numl- (*body*)
hand kwalm-
hang i_{lu}₂, i_{kel}, i_{lu}-kilav_{in}
harbour kwanhel_{in}
hard ivsiki_{vsik}, apwan₂,
 apwanapwan (*not soft*),₂out_{in}
 (*not easy*)
hat kavhev_{hau}
he in
head -kapwa, nivel-
heal amiv
hear i_{lig}
heart kwotav_{ha}
heavy pwam
heel kwilpas
her(s) in, -n
here i_{kin} e, i_{kin} en, -pwa, -pna
hiccup tik
hide (intr.) elkwaig
hidden akwateluk_{in}
high tide, be timtim
him in
his -n
hit uh, asik

hold vah, ilaptelak_{in}
hole nimil, napwag-
home(wards) iimwa
hook kwanmetau
hospital hospitil
hot apwan₁
house nimwa
how much/many? kuhu
hunger nukwumus
hungry nukwumus l-as, amkaliv
hunt eap_{in}
hurry haimil_{in}
husband hualu, ielmaan

I

I iou
if tukwmah, kipimah
indefinite kilik
intend amwa
intestines nisinau-
island nimoptana
it in
itch ivkasivkas
its -n

J

jaw nimlinhel-
juice nehe-
jump iva, iohu
just ima₂, imi

K

kava nikava
kava-drinking area iimwalim
kidney kwanouk_{ouk}
kill huopnii

knee nukwul-
 knife nau
 know likwun, hetelakin; okiahu
 (well); ainein (not know)

L

lake nisíu
 laugh aalh
 lavalava lapalapa
 lazy elfa
 lead, to okwupwin
 leaf nimwal-
 leave telhau, ita
 left (hand) maul
 leg nuhu-
 legend kwanagei
 let pwah
 let go ita
 lie (tell) eikwa
 lie (down) imil
 light eluelua (not heavy), laan
 (not dark)
 lightning, to itrouapig
 lightning nerouaiipien
 like, to olkeikei
 like (= as) kima
 'like that' kapkin
 lip tupwnhel-
 live mlagh (= alive), ala (= dwell)
 liver nakanmop-
 lobster luantahik
 location ikin
 long aliepomh
 look elhakín (for), elhelha (back)
 ivsik (after)
 lose oulhiaa
 a lot pik
 loud apomh

louse kel
 low tide, be mas
 lung(s) tipwoluelua

M

mad enoenó
 make ol
 man/male ielmaan
 mango magkou
 manioc mwaiako
 many ipsaah, nukwaau
 mast tila
 mat tavheta
 me iou
 meat nauga
 midday ielkweha
 middle ielkwaa-
 midnight ienpigilu
 midrib nikouisil
 milk nahi-
 mind liki-
 moon makua
 morning ienpigénpig
 mosquito mumuk
 mother nisín-, mama, iemwa
 mother-in-law kuhu-
 mountain tukwas
 mouth nhel-
 mud namtigai
 mumble atmunmún
 mumumumú atmunmún
 my -k

N

nakamal iimwalim
name, to hen
name, a nhag-
nape nik-
narrow ivtelakin
navel niplig-
near ipaka
neck nik-, -lakw, nua-₃
 nipwataknu-
negative verb apwah₁
nest nimwa-
net nákapun
new vi₂
next hialma, kwasig₂
night ienpig
no nikom
north pihiu
north wind lúatúamlai
north-east wind lúatu
northwards -pihiu, -fiu, -iehou
north-west wind lúatumwitua
nose nipwagnhig-
not apwah₁
not to be lkak
not to know ainéin
not to want apwah₂
now la, takwtakwun

O

octopus ihi
old hualu, akwas
old man hualu
old woman piahualu
one kilikiana
the one who iame
only ima₂, imi

open, to asiktaa
open, be okwag
or ua₂
our (exc.) -mlu, -masil, -maua
our (inc.) -lau, -tasil, -taua
outrigger limil (*float*), kwanikiatu
 (*boom*)
oven kwanemwin

P

paddle, a nivea
pain, be in imha
pandanus mwankuiu
pant imig, ehiagehiag
path suatukw
penis -hau
perceive ilig
person ielmama
pig pukah
pillow kasaua
pinch atimw
pipes (musical) kwatetal
place (noun) etamweekw, ikín,
 ielki-
plant, to ahu, su
play ivkíl
poison nukna
poison, to okwnii
porpoise kamaam-kapa-nukna
pound, to asik, isianisian
pour vipin
precede okwupwin
prevent níahu
proficient okiahu
pull vi₁, eivi, okwaai
push alkipin
put (down) lihu, itu
put arms around ouaki

Q

quick(ly) hueihuaa

R

rafters kwanai, kwanetan,
kwanaikwaskwas

rain, to p

rain, the nehen

rainbow melaimelai

rat iahukw

reach elieti

read avhekin

red huau

refuse, to apwah₂

return lelig

rib kwanakau

ridgepole kwalkwau

right (hand) matukw

right etkwatukw (= correct)

river iapiuan

road suatukw

roast, to vaan

roof niklee-

root nua₂

rope nelaus

rotten imitit

round akwitakwita

rub lai

run aiu

run away aap

S

sail, a nivin

salt nīgal

same kīlikiana

sand nīpakīl

sandalwood nīkpīs

sarong lapalapa

say ni₁, ima₁

scorpion iesaietik

scratch, to aki

sea tahik

seaweed limus

see aam₂

seed kwankwa-, kwanun-

separate, to ihuai

sew lhi

shadow nanmw-

shallow ietapeka

shark kīlhiavīn

sharp esla

she in

shed skin ouiak

shelf nimwativhata

shellfish kuhuan

shin naienu-

shiver okwiaaikwiaai

shoot asik

shore nimwakīlakīl

short kwakwa

short of breath imig

shoulder nua₁

show atiuun

shut, to etapig

shut, be uhum

sibling of same sex pia-,
noulahi-, noule-

sick mha

side nīkal-, nīkalkal-, lenkalkal-,
nīvtai-

sinew kwanelaus

sing ni₂ nīpe

sink īlkwiīlkin (tr.), amnum
(intr.)

sister nauin-, noulahi-, noule-,
 pia-
sit akwita
skin tiki-
sky neai
sleep apil
sleepwalk vikouiam
slow(ly) mala
small alkititit
smash ahipwu
smell, to apien (intr.), ilig (tr.)
smoke nhenapw
smooth ipwia
snake tagalua
snap elpwu
so toko
soft malamala
some tiksin, kilik
something nal
song nipe
sorcery nukna
sore, be imha, imhil
sore, a nimwapw
sour ehui
south pilaah
south wind pwai
south-east wind tokolau
southwards -plaah, -hakta
south-west wind pwai
speak inkiaal
spear, a kwanhau
spider mwakal, iielia
spiderweb liellie
spirit nanmw-
spit elgaavh
spittle nhinakwa-
split aliplaai

squeeze ivtetelakin
squid ihi
stab hai
stanchions kwankwulkwul
stand alel (intr.), ilip (tr.)
star kimhau
stay kwate, akwatelukin
steal akhlakun
stick, a nipalnai
stingray vilaakw
stomach tipweua
stone kopwiel
story kwanagei, namsu, nivsauien
straight etkwatukw
strike uh
string, to til
strong asanin
suck amwha
sugarcane nitukw
sun mil
swallow tigai
swamp nantigai
sweat, to amnhaakw
sweet hekin
sweet potato kwalei, kwaleikwalei
swell up esiis
swim al, eai

T

tail nipikou-
talk harshly akwlig
tapioca mwaiako
taro nitel
taste apwaihasigivin
tattoo netetau
tears nheniml-

tell lies eikwa
tell story ivsau
testicle kwanouier-
that mima, aan₂, aa₂, ai, en,
 kwuse
the ai
their -lia, -lisil, -liu
them aliu, alisil, alia
then la, toko, kwasig₂
there ikin en, ikin aan₂, -pin,
 -pna
therefore toko
they iliu, ilisil, ilia
thick esiis, amha
thief iaklha
thigh nipwatakniva-
thin avilitg
thing nal
think liki-n l-am-uh
thirsty akwapwa
this e, en, ai, kwuse
thorn nilh-
three kisisil
throat -lakw
throw alukin₁
thumb pisasuul
thunder kalualua
tibia naienhu-
tidal wave siosio
tide mas (be low), timtim (be high)
tie ilkis, etout
time nipig
tired apus
tobacco tapaka
today touei
toe pispis
toenail niligivi-

together -kwis, kwiskwis, mukwis
tomorrow tukwienakwamil
tongue nelam-
tooth kwilu-
top nelpul-, tukl-
tree nai₁
trunk niplaa-
trying to lu
turn oklhekín (self), avhlekín
 (sth.)
turtle iakw
twist ikav
two kilalu

U

uncle mila-, lim- kalín
underworld ipwai
unimportant apgapig
upwards -hakta
urinate aam₁, ami, amialil
us (exc.) amlu, amasil, amaua
us (inc.) alau, atasil, ataua

V

vagina -ua
valley nakwatana
vein kwanelaus
very ankap, pik, eleita
village lukwanu, ielkwanu
voice liki-
volcano iahul
vomit lua

W

wake up iŋha (intr.), siŋ (tr.)
walk eliuok
wall napwiŋ
want olkeikei, amwa; apwah₂
 (not want)
war neluankapien
warm, be aliuan
wash iŋvit, aikuaas (sth.), al
 (self), akwi (s.o.)
water nu
wave, a peau, siosio
we (exc.) kiŋlu, kiŋmasiŋ, kiŋmaua
we (inc.) kiŋlau, kiŋtasiŋ, kiŋtaua
wear lavalava etout
weave kwuh
web lielie
weed, to okwai
weeds niŋhiliŋk ha
weep eau
west pila
west wind niŋpelaap
westwards -vila
wet, be aptiŋ
whale toulhaai
what? naha
when? naghin (past), tukwnaghin
 (future)
where? -hie, ihie, iŋin faŋin
which? faŋin
white hauan
Whitesands ikuplaah
who? pa
whom? pa
wide ehua
widower pianielmiŋ
wife pilaviŋ, pian
wind niŋmataag

wing niŋkavkav-
wipe iŋspiil
woman pilaviŋ, pian, piamil
work in garden asim
worm mwatikiŋalo
wrap (up) avliŋ

Y

yam nekw
yaws, have okwiŋte
year nekw
yellow akwiŋha
yes ouaah
yesterday niŋv
you iik, kiŋmilu, amilu, kiŋmisiŋ,
 amiŋsiŋ, kiŋmia, amia
your -m, -milu, -miŋsiŋ, -mia

NOTES

1. See Lynch (1978a:718-719) for further discussion and elaboration.
2. I was unable to elicit any name for this dialect. The tribal group who speak it are known as the Nelpwaa-i-mine (-mine being an associative suffix used in tribal names), and this is where the name Nelpwaa-i comes from. Nivhaal and Nivai are, however, names of the dialects.
3. My own data (Lynch 1978a:720) show a higher figure (73%) between the Nivhaal dialect and Lenakel, but this is almost certainly due to elicitation in Lenakel.
4. Research was supported by the East-West Center and the University of Papua New Guinea. I would like to thank Terry Crowley for his comments on an earlier draft of this grammar.
5. Of the 'dento-alveolar' sounds, t and s are dental, and the others are alveolar (but see also the discussion concerning v and r). The symbol g is used for the velar nasal [ŋ] since this is the common symbol in the orthographies of many of the languages of Vanuatu; all of the languages of Southern Vanuatu use g for [ŋ]. The phonological rules of South-west Tanna are very similar to those of Lenakel, of which Lynch (1975) is a detailed description.
6. The phonemic status of the mid central vowel was not recognised by early missionaries in designing orthographies for the Tanna languages, and so no traditional symbol exists; the symbol † is used in publications on Lenakel (see bibliography), and is used here for that reason.
7. The phoneme /h/ is not considered a non-vowel in the devoicing environment where it undergoes crasis with a preceding consonant; thus /oklhek†n/ [ɔŋlɛgðn] 'to turn' is considered to have a medial cluster of only two consonants.
8. It should also be pointed out here that /†/ is the only vowel which may not occur word-finally.
9. Theoretically, a class of exclamations/interjections should be included as a fifth major class including, inter alia, ouaah 'yes', nikom 'no', and a number of other items. I have decided to dispense with any detailed treatment of these items in this grammar outline. Conjunctions and case-marking prepositions are not treated as major word classes, and are discussed in the appropriate subsections of section 4.
10. Sound correspondences established in Lynch (1978a) include the following: Proto-Oceanic *t > South-west Tanna (Nivhaal) l, *d > l, *p > v, *m > m, *n > n, *ŋ > g, *s > h, *q and *k lost in some environments.

This accreted initial vowel is a feature of the whole Southern Vanuatu subgroup (Lynch 1978a:757), and the fact that it once must have been a prefix can also be shown by an examination of the verb in Sie (Erromango) (Lynch 1981b). However, I have not as yet been able to assign a clear function to it in the languages of the subgroup.
11. The homophony between the lIN and 3NSG forms is not a peculiarity of South-west Tanna but is found in all the languages of Tanna.

12. See Lynch (1978a:758) for a suggestion that this marker derives historically from the Proto-Oceanic conjunction *ma 'and'.
No tense/aspect markers appear in many of the verbs given in the examples in this section. These examples mainly come from narrative discourse; and in any context where the tense/aspect is obvious, it need not be overtly marked. In fact, tense/aspect markers rarely follow the prefix m-, for this very reason.
13. There is some evidence that South-west Tanna /h/ has recently moved further leftwards in words, so that some cases of medial /h/ have subsequently moved to initial position. Compare South-west Tanna helapu 'blow a fire', nhe- 'smoke', kuhu 'how many', and mha 'sick, die' with Whitesands (East Tanna) ahlapu, nah-, kuvah, and mis respectively. The evidence needs to be further examined; however, if there was a general leftward shift of /h/, it may explain why the /h/ is virtually ignored in the morphophonemics of the number prefixes.
14. Compare these suffixes with the locative nouns pihui 'the north', pilaah 'the south', pihiaak 'the east', and pila 'the west'.
15. Note that since eliuok is not a verb of specific motion (i.e. it implies no specific direction), (75) can not mean *'Where are you walking?'.
16. Apart from the expected phonological differences (e.g. r for Nivhaal l), Nivai dialect pronoun forms show one significant difference from the Nivhaal forms: the presence of an initial i in the focal non-singular pronouns - e.g. ikarau 1IN:DU, ikamuru 1EX:DU, ikamist 2TR, etc.
17. The Ø allomorph is represented here in examples (84) and (85) in order to illustrate this deletion; in other examples elsewhere in the text, however, it will not be written in.
18. See, for example, Lynch (1973, 1981a) and Pawley (1973) for a discussion of this.
19. The fact that the basic meaning of ielmaan is 'man' and that of pilavin is 'woman' is relevant here.
20. The Nivai dialect seems to show a greater range of use of the 3SG allomorph -ni: the small amount of data I have available suggests that -ni is used with all kinship terms which take direct possession, while -n is used with non-kinship terms in direct possession.
21. In previous discussions of the grammar of Tanna languages (e.g. Lynch 1978b), this class was labelled 'adjuncts'. However, the similarity between 'adjuncts' and 'adjectives' is such that I have substituted the term 'modifier' for 'adjunct'.
22. Numerals between six and nineteen are formed by compounding on the base 'five' and using the ligature mī: thus kīlkīlīp-mī-kīlkīlīp-mī-kīlalu 'twelve'. Twenty is formed on the base l-lkak ielmama (3SG-not:be person): l-lkak ielmama kīlikiana mī-kuas (literally, one person is not, and four) 'twenty-four'. Needless to say, numerals above five are not frequently used, having largely been replaced in normal conversation by borrowings from Bislama.

23. Noun-initial *n* derives historically from a Proto-Oceanic article **na*. In the Tanna languages, this **na* has been fused at the beginning of many nouns in the form *n* or *n* + vowel, and it is now part of the noun. In South-west Tanna, 36.5% of the nouns listed in the vocabulary in section 6 begin with *n*; the next most frequent initial phonemes are *i* with 11.7% (cf. *i*- 'agentive prefix'), *k* with 11.4% (cf. *k*- 'instrumental prefix'), and *kw* with 9.1%.
24. Recall the discussion in 3.1.1.11. above where it was pointed out that, in a transitive clause, certain verbs *require* the transitive postclitic -*k+n* (e.g. *g+n* in (138)), while others do not (e.g. *aan* in (136), as in (137)).
25. This question-type is really a reduction of an alternative sentence (see 4.4.2.3. below): *"That man killed a pig in the village or (he didn't kill a pig in the village)?"* It is convenient, however, to treat such questions as simple rather than complex sentences.
26. The conjunction *mel+ginai* 'because' looks formally like a compound of *mel+g* 'but' + *in* 3SG + *ai* DEM:PR, and comparative evidence suggests that this is correct: cf. Lenakel *merouinka* 'because' (*merou* 'but', in 3SG, *ka* DEM:PR). However, the form in South-west Tanna seems to be monomorphemic synchronically (as do its cognates in Lenakel and other Tanna languages).
27. It is possible that the conjunction is (or was) *m+ima* (AND-quotative: verb); again, there is some comparative evidence for this, though the form is synchronically monomorphemic.

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ANEJOM GRAMMAR SKETCH

John Lynch

0. INTRODUCTION

Anejom

Anejom, or Aneityumese, is the only language of Aneityum, the southernmost of the islands of Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides). In the early period of research into the languages of Oceania, Anejom was comparatively well-known: the language had been studied by the early Presbyterian missionaries, and a dictionary and grammatical sketch was published exactly a century ago (Inglis 1882); the whole bible was translated; and an abridged *Pilgrim's Progress* and other religious material were printed in the language. These missionary materials formed the basis for later studies of the language (Gabelentz 1861-73, Codrington 1885, Kern 1906, Ray 1926).

However, with the drastic reduction in the population of the island, Anejom lost any prestige it might otherwise have had, and little linguistic study has been undertaken this century. Hewitt's (1966) phonological and lexical study is the only recent published work on the language. At the same time, considerable change – phonological, grammatical, and lexical – has clearly taken place in the language since Inglis' publication.

For these reasons, it is important that what is known of the language be made available. This is perhaps even truer of Anejom than of other Melanesian languages in a similar state of linguistic neglect: Anejom has a complex historical phonology, but perhaps of even greater interest to Oceanic linguists is the fact that Anejom is one of the very few Melanesian languages to favour a sentence order verb + object + subject.

Data

My original intention was to edit an unpublished manuscript grammar sketch of Anejom, written by Arthur Capell in the early 1960s, and entitled 'A Re-Study of the Language of Aneityum, New Hebrides'. Capell's "grammar sketch was based largely, though not by any means entirely, on the printed [Bible] translation", while the phonemic sketch was "based on the language as spoken at the present day" (Capell MS:2). However, since the publication of Hewitt (1966), and of a few notes on the phonology and grammar based on my own initial contact with the language (Lynch 1976), it is clear that Capell's phonology is not wholly accurate. At the same time, Capell uses for his grammatical description a framework, deliberately experimental, which for those who do not already know something about the language is quite hard to follow. Since I was able to

elicit a certain amount of Anejom data while working on other languages of Southern Vanuatu, I felt it was worthwhile to try to write a grammar sketch based on modern Anejom, although I have added information from Capell's MS where necessary. There are a large number of gaps in this sketch, but my intention has simply been to make accessible what is currently known about the language.¹

Organisation and abbreviations

The sections which follow examine the phonology, the morphological structure of bases or major morphemes, and the structure of phrases, clauses, and sentences. Section 6 provides a text elicited in 1981 from a young Anejom-speaker. Where quoting directly from Capell's MS, I use ordinary quotations but source them simply with the letter C followed by the page number(s). In addition, I have re-phonemicised some of Capell's examples according to the phonological analysis presented in section 1; no specific note is made when Capell's examples have been re-phonemicised, even in direct quotations from his MS.

The following abbreviations are used:

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	LOC	locative
ABOUT	referential preposition	LOC:STM	locative subject/tense/ mood particle
ADV	adverbial particle		
AOR	aurist	MID	mid deictic
ASSERT	assertive particle	NEG	negative
C	Capell (MS)	NEG:IMP	negative imperative
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominaliser
COM	comitative	NR	near deictic
COND	conditional	NSG	non-singular
CONS	construct suffix	PF	perfective
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DEIC	deictic	POSS	possessive
DU	dual	POSS:DRINK	drink possession marker
ES	echo-subject prefix	POSS:EAT	eat possession marker
EXC	exclusive	PREF	previous reference
FAR	far deictic	SEQ	sequential action
FUT	future	SG	singular
FUT/HOR	future/hortative/ subjunctive particle	SM	subject-marker
HUM	human	STM	subject/tense/mood particle
INC	inclusive	SUBJ	subjunctive
INS	instrumental	TEMP	temporal particle
k.o.	kind of	TR	trial
		TRANS	transitive

1. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

This analysis of Anejom phonology is based largely on Hewitt's (1966) published study and on my own analysis (largely unpublished, though see Lynch 1976). The phonemes of Anejom, as established by both Hewitt and myself, are as follows:

Consonants

	Velarised Bilabial	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	b	p	t		j	k	
Fricatives, voiceless		f	d s				h
Fricatives, voiced		v				c	
Nasals	m̃	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral			l				
Flap				r			
Semivowels	w				y		

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The orthography used is that of the mission translations — which is the system currently used today — with the addition of the three phonemes /b m̃ ɲ/ not recognised by mission translators. A fuller discussion of the orthography may be found in 1.4. below; for the moment, note that b represents /p^w/, c represents /ɣ/, d represents /θ/, g represents /ŋ/, and m represents /m^w/.

1.1. Consonants

Anejom has twenty consonant phonemes, which are discussed according to manner of articulation below.

Stops. Stops "voice completely when flanked by vowels, and at least partially when following a voiced consonant" (Hewitt 1966:4). In other environments, the stops are voiceless, but lenis. The palatal stop in fact occurs strongly affricated ([tʃ], [dʒ]) in most environments, retaining its stop character ([tʃ], [dʒ]) only when followed by the nasals m and g. Velarised and simple bilabial stops are in contrast (as they are in other languages of the region):

(1)	/bar/	[p ^w ár]	'and then, also'
	/pan/	[pán]	'nearly'
	/inba/	[ʔínb ^w a]	'k.o. fish'
	/inpa/	[ʔínpa]	'tree sp.'

Hewitt (1966:12) mentions the apparent neutralisation of the velarised/simple contrast before the back rounded vowel /o/, but this in fact seems to be an incorrect interpretation, as examples like the following show:

(2)	/abos/	[ʔáb ^w os]	'carry'
	/apos/	[ʔábos]	'steer a boat'

Fricatives. Fricatives show a voicing distinction only in the labial series, voiceless labiodental /f/ contrasting with voiced labiodental /v/:

(3)	/nefatimi/	[nɛfadími]	'old man'
	/nevatimi/	[nɛvadími]	'which man?'

The voiceless interdental fricative /d/ ([θ]) contrasts with the voiceless apicodental fricative /s/:

(4)	/adgañ/	[ʔáθᵐaᵐ]	'put on head'
	/asga/	[ʔásᵐa]	'all'
	/edei/	[ʔéθei]	'chew'
	/esej/	[ʔéseᵐi]	'three'

The remaining fricatives are the voiced velar fricative /c/ ([ɣ]) and the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, realised as a glottal stop in preconsonantal position.

Nasals. The nasals show a five-way contrast similar to that found in the stops. Contrast between velarised and simple bilabial nasals is clear, and again this contrast is found before /o/ as well (contra Hewitt 1966:12);

(5)	/ma/	[m ^w á]	'be murky, unclear'
	/ma/	[má]	'be ripe, of fruit'
	/inmōso/	[ʔinm ^w ósɔ]	'fog'
	/inmohoc/	[ʔinmóhɔɣ]	'moon'

Contrast between the alveolar, palatal, and velar nasals is also clear, and carries a relatively high functional load:

(6)	/anag/	[ʔánaŋ]	'many'
	/añak/	[ʔáᵐñak]	'I'
	/agag/	[ʔánaŋ]	'swim'

Liquids. The two liquids, voiced dental lateral /l/ and voiced alveolar flap /r/, are in clear contrast:

(7)	/alou/	[ʔálou]	'vomit'
	/arourei/	[ʔaʔóuʔei]	'tie up'

Semivowels. There are two semivowel phonemes /w/ and /y/. Their status as consonant phonemes independent of the high vowels will be discussed in sections 1.2. and 1.3. below.

1.2. Vowels

Anejom has a five-vowel system similar to that found in many other Oceanic languages. The unconditioned allophones of the vowels are lax: [ɪ], [ʊ], [ɛ], [ɔ], and [a]. The conditioned allophones are discussed below.

The high front vowel /i/ is tense [i:] in a number of environments: adjacent to a vowel; finally; or before a palatal consonant. Similarly, the high back vowel /u/ is tense [u:] adjacent to a vowel. Both high vowels are long and tense when geminate (i.e. /ii/ = [i:] and /uu/ = [u:]).

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ occur tense [e] and [o] when before /i/, and /o/ is also tense before /u/. The mid front vowel /e/ has a central allophone [ə] when before the velar fricative /c/. Both mid vowels, and also the low vowel /a/, have a palatal offglide when they occur before the palatal consonants /j/ and /ɲ/.

Some examples of the various allophones of the vowel phonemes are given below:

(8)	/intal/	[ʔíndal]	'taro'
	/nadiat/	[náθiat]	'day, daytime'
	/ijiñis/	[ʔijíñis]	'up, above'
	/nakiato/	[nagiádo]	'outrigger-boom'
	/anliin/	[ʔanlí:n]	'inside'
	/itjuu/	[ʔɪdjú:]	'fall'
	/nahou/	[náhou]	'turtle'
	/nahoj/	[náho ⁱ č]	'k.o. betelnut'
	/etec/	[ʔédəɣ]	'be, stay'
	/esej/	[ʔése ⁱ č]	'three'
	/añak/	[ʔá ⁱ ñak]	'I'
	/nupun/	[núbun]	'thorn'

"In the present day spoken language there is a strong tendency to lower many of the /i/'s ... to [e] [i.e. to [ɛ]:JL] The /o/ on the other hand is tending towards [ʊ]" (C:3). In addition to these tendencies, clear also in Hewitt's lists and in my data, there is also considerable confusion, even in

the speech of a single informant, between /ai/ and /ei/ and between /au/ and /ou/. At the moment, however, insufficient data are available to comment further on these developments.

Two other points require mentioning in connection with the Anejom vowels. The first is that word-initial vowels are preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop (which also occurs intervocalically in the interjection /a'o/ [ʔa'o] 'no'); there are a number of examples of this in (8) above. The other point concerns the contrast between the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the corresponding semivowels /y/ and /w/. In Hewitt's (1966) phonological study,

the major unresolved problem involves the classification of glides. ... Phonetically some high vocoids seem as likely to be unstressed vowels as semivowels. This is further complicated by variant pronunciation. Di-syllabic /nadyat/ 'daytime' is as acceptable and as likely to occur as tri-syllabic /nadiat/ (1966:13)

On the basis of the behaviour of geminate clusters as opposed to clusters of /yi/ and /wu/, however, Hewitt concludes that it is preferable to posit /y/ and /w/ as semivowel phonemes in contrast with /i/ and /u/.

1.3. Phonotactics

Although no detailed study of Anejom phonotactics has been carried out, some general statements can be made. Normally, words may begin either with a vowel or a consonant, and may end with either a vowel or a consonant. However, not more than one consonant may appear initially or finally, and not more than two consonants may cluster medially. Within a syllable, two vowels may occur as a diphthong (involving either high vowel + non-high vowel, low vowel + non-low vowel, or mid vowel + high vowel). No obvious prohibited combinations of vowels across syllable-boundaries have been observed, nor does the data show any clear prohibitions on consonant + consonant or consonant + vowel sequences; some of Hewitt's statements in this regard have been shown, by the collection of further data, to be invalid.

The significance of gemination in [Anejom] remains uncertain. The Dictionary [i.e. Inglis 1882] gives a number of words with or without geminated consonants, such as /'netto/ or /'neto/, 'sugarcane'. ... At the present day it does not seem to occur. Forms such as uye, uyye, 'thus' are listed but the former is more generally heard It is possible that such variations were originally present, but dialectal (from the viewpoint of the missionaries' chosen headquarters). There are, however, no records of dialectal variation on any large scale" (C:5).

Hewitt and I both recorded the glottal stop allophone of /h/ in preconsonantal position, and Hewitt's only other remarks on consonant gemination are that "no geminate consonants have yet been verified" (Hewitt 1966:12). On a number of occasions, however, I found myself writing now a geminate consonant, now /h/ + consonant, and as my research continued I leaned more and more to the geminate consonant interpretation. Thus what I originally heard as /ahtaj/ [ʔa'ta'iʃ] 'they (trial)' I later felt was /attaj/ [ʔat:a'iʃ], and similarly with some, but by no means all, examples of /h/ + consonant in the data. This problem of consonant gemination is one which requires further investigation.

Gemination in vowels, however, is much more clearcut. It seems that all vowels may occur geminate, though /ii/ is by far the most frequent. Geminate vowels tend to be longer and, in the case of non-low vowels, tenser than their ungeminated equivalent.

Finally, phonotactic evidence gives support to the interpretation of [y] and [w] as separate semivowel phonemes rather than as allophones of /i/ and /u/. Hewitt notes, for example, that

portions of Anejom 'words' appear to have nominalising function. Many 'nouns' with initial /n-/ or /in-/ are 'derived' from 'verbs' or 'adjectives' by means of these prefixes [and cf. 2.2.1. below]. ... [Her] examples demonstrate that /n-/ occurs before vowels, and /in-/ before consonants. Pertinently, glide initial forms do show the consonantally selected allomorph of the prefix. (Hewitt 1966:13)

e.g. /yubal/ 'tell a story', /inyubal/ 'story'.

1.4. Orthography

The orthography used in this grammar sketch is based largely on that developed by the Presbyterian mission in the last century, and used in mission and other publications on the language. The orthography is similar, at least in basic principles, to that developed around the same time for Fijian: one symbol for one significant sound, with otherwise unused Roman letters being used for single consonant phonemes (cf. Fijian c, g, q, etc.).

The five vowels occasion no real problem, with each of the symbols having their 'expected' realisation. The problem for those unfamiliar with Anejom, however, lies in the consonants. Of these, three do not appear at all in the mission literature: the velarised bilabial stop /b/, the velarised bilabial nasal /m/, and the palatal nasal /ɲ/. Of the other consonant symbols, /p t k f v s h m n l r w y/ call for little comment. The remaining four symbols, however, should be briefly commented on.

The symbol j is used for the alveopalatal affricate (Capell uses c for this in his MS). The symbol d is used for the interdental fricative (Capell uses θ); I have retained the old mission symbol, at least partly because the most logical alternative, the digraph th, is unsatisfactory, sequences of /t/ + /h/ being permissible (e.g. /intaketha/ [ʔɪndagɛ̃θa] 'woman'). The symbol g, as in so many languages of Oceania, represents the voiced velar nasal; Capell's MS shows ŋ. Finally, the symbol c represents the voiced velar fricative (Capell's γ).

1.5. Stress

Neither Capell nor Hewitt treats stress at all, and I have only been able to make small headway with the analysis of stress (Lynch 1976:2). Generally, primary stress in Anejom appears to fall on the penultimate syllable, with geminate vowels counting as two syllables:

(9)	/eded/	[ʔɛ̃θɛ̃θ]	'suck'
	/nefalañ/	[nefála ⁱ ɲ]	'road'
	/incowoj/	[ʔɪnɔ̃wo ⁱ ʃ]	'hook'

/ecjii/	[ʔəɣʝi:]	'to comb'
/ingitjiŋat/	[ʔɪŋŋɪdʝiŋat]	'sandalwood-tree'

There is some evidence, however, that primary stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable if the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables of a word contain the same vocalic elements and are separated by a single consonant:

(10)	/itiyi/	[ʔiɪdiyi]	negative particle
	/elehel/	[ʔɛlɛhɛl]	'blow, of wind'
	/inlilitai/	[ʔɪnlɪlɪdai]	'bush'
	/inmunuka/	[ʔɪnmʊnuga]	'thunder'

Stress is, however, one more area of Anejom phonology that requires considerably more attention.

2. BASES

Five types of major morphemes or bases may be distinguished in Anejom: pronouns, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adjuncts. These are briefly established, and their morphology discussed, in this section. Their wider grammatical features, however, are left until later sections.

2.1. Pronouns

Pronouns are bases which distinguish person and number (and also case — cf. 2.3. and 3.2. below). Four numbers are marked in Anejom pronouns: singular, dual, trial, and plural. In the non-singular numbers, the common Oceanic distinction between inclusive and exclusive first persons is also found. Thus in each of the cases fifteen pronominal forms can be distinguished.

The three cases are (i) focal, which occur as subject noun phrases and disjunctively; (ii) objective, which occur as suffixes to verbs and will be treated in 2.3. below; and (iii) possessive, which occur as suffixes to nouns or to possessive morphemes and will be treated in 3.2. below. The grammar of the various cases of pronouns will also be examined in subsequent sections.

The Anejom focal pronouns are listed below:

(11)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st. inc.		akajau	akataj	akaja
1st. exc.	aŋak	ajamrau	ajamtaj	ajama
2nd	aek ~ aak	ajourau	ajoutaj	ajowa
3rd	aen ~ aan	aarau	attaj	aara

There are a number of points to note about these focal pronoun forms.

First, the focal pronouns are all a-initial. Anejom sentences are almost all of the form VS or VOS, with the subject noun phrase usually being marked by the particle a; for example:

- (12) et ciŋ wametec a pikad
 3SG:AOR eat sweet:potato SM pig
 'The pig ate/is eating sweet potato'

Since the most frequent position of occurrence of the focal pronouns is as subject noun phrases, and since in this position they are not themselves further marked by the subject-marking particle *a* – e.g.

- (13) *et ciñ wametec aen*
 3SG:AOR *eat sweet:potato he*
'He ate/is eating sweet potato'
- *et ciñ wametec a aen*
 3SG:AOR *eat sweet:potato SM he*

– then it seems likely that the initial *a* in the focal pronouns is a fused subject-marker.

Second, the second and third person singular forms each show two variants. The former (*aek*, *aen*) are the older forms, which include the relatively infrequent vowel sequence /*ae*/; the latter forms (*aak*, *aan*) appear to be taking over from the former, and may even be being further reduced to *ak*, *an*.

Third, the non-singular focal pronoun forms suggest a combination of pronoun root + number suffix. Although neither the roots nor the suffixes occur alone as free forms, it is useful to list the underlying forms here:

(14)	Roots	Suffixes
	<i>a-kaj-</i> 1st. inc.	<i>-rau</i> dual
	<i>a-jam-</i> 1st. exc.	<i>-taj</i> trial
	<i>a-jou-</i> 2nd	<i>-a</i> plural
	<i>a-ar-</i> 3rd	

The number suffixes bear no synchronic relation to the numerals, although there appears to be some historical relationship.³ There are also a number of morphophonemic changes involved in the combination of root + suffix: a following consonant is lost after *a-kaj-* 'first inclusive' degemination takes place in *a-ar-rau*; and *a-jou-a* becomes *ajowa* through a process of desyllabification.

Fourth, the third person trial, underlying *a-ar-taj*, produces a geminate consonant. Where I recorded *attaj*, other sources give this form as *ahtaj* (C, Hewitt 1966, Inglis 1882).

Finally, there appears to be variation in the final syllable of the dual forms between *-(r)au* and *-(r)ou*. Both terminations are found in my data and in all the sources except Inglis (1882), who has *-(r)au* only.⁴ In this sketch, I will consistently give the forms in *-(r)au*, since these are both historically prior and, I believe, more common; such forms, however, should be taken to include the forms in *-(r)ou* as acceptable alternatives.

The focal pronouns are further exemplified below:

- (15) *is apam añaak*
 PAST *come I*
'I came'
- et awod kuri albas et ithii aan*
 3SG:AOR *hit dog big* 3SG:AOR *one he*
'He hit a/one big dog'
- era hag aarou*
 NSG:AOR *dine they:DU*
'They two are eating'

2.2. Nouns

The category of noun "include[s] words which function as [actor] or [goal] in an utterance. There is no formal distinction to indicate the particular function, i.e. there are no case distinctions" (C:27). However, number is usually indicated in the noun (unlike many other Oceanic languages of Melanesia). Since a great part of the morphology of nouns involves a prefix, *n- ~ in-*, one of whose functions is to derive nouns from verbs, it will be convenient to first examine this derivational prefix, and then look at other aspects of noun morphology.

2.2.1. Derivation

Anejom "does not possess a regular series of derivational affixes" which derive nouns from other bases;

such derivations have usually to be expressed in syntactic phrases. Examples: *natimi atgei atmas*, 'murderer', lit. 'person kill spirits'; *natimi ahilek mu*, 'a fisherman', lit. 'person seek fish' The location of an action may be indicated by *inworen*, 'place': *inworen asjapijgaŋ iran*, 'market', lit. 'place collect thereat' (C:28).

In addition to these forms, the use of the prefix *inta-* to form instrumental nouns should also be noted:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| (16) | <i>inta-amñii</i> | (INS-drink) | 'something to drink' |
| | <i>inta-arei</i> | (INS-sweep) | 'broom' |

Whether this is a prefix, or whether the forms above are compound nouns with *inta-* being a form of *nitai* 'thing', is a matter for further analysis.

There is, however, one very productive derivational process for deriving nouns from verbs and adjectives, and this involves the prefixation of *n-* or *in-*. Although there are some exceptions, the general rule seems to be that *n-* is prefixed to vowel-initial roots and *in-* to consonant-initial roots.⁵ Some examples are given below.

(17)	Verb Root		Derived Noun	
	<i>alañaheni</i>	'pray'	<i>n-alañaheni</i>	'prayer'
	<i>edua</i>	'hunt'	<i>n-edua</i>	'war'
	<i>omrag</i>	'be old'	<i>n-omrag</i>	'old person'
	<i>umuñu</i>	'moisten'	<i>n-umuñu</i>	'dampness'
	<i>hag</i>	'dine, eat'	<i>in-hag</i>	'food'
	<i>ja</i>	'bleed'	<i>in-ja</i>	'blood'
	<i>meret</i>	'want'	<i>in-meret</i>	'preference'
	<i>tas</i>	'speak'	<i>in-tas</i>	'word, message'

Most, though not all, nouns in Anejom begin with *n-* or *in-*.

This prefixed *n- ~ in-* has usually been described as an article. Although this may be true from the viewpoint of historical linguistics, it is not synchronically true. It is better to

treat it specifically as a noun-marker. As such, it is neither definite nor indefinite and in no sense an article; deictics are used where needed to add definiteness to the expression (C:27a).

There are in fact cases of what appear to be primarily nouns dropping the initial *n-* or *in-* and becoming verbs: Capell gives the example of *nisec* 'stick', *isec* 'be or become a stick', and similar pairs will be given in 2.3. below.

Generally, however, it appears as if *n- ~ in-* was added to noun bases at some stage in the history of Anejom as some kind of noun-marker; and it is true to say that this prefix normally remains attached to the noun. There seem to be only three contexts in which this noun-marker may be dropped: the verbal sense discussed above, in certain compounds (see 2.2.3. below), and in the plural, to which we now turn.

2.2.2. Pluralisation

Most Anejom nouns are capable of showing a distinction between singular and non-singular, although there is no distinction in nouns between dual, trial, and plural. The exceptions to this general statement are (a) nouns which, semantically, do not allow of a plural, and (b) most nouns which do not begin with *n- ~ in-*.

Generally, inanimate nouns express the plural by simply deleting the *n-* or *in-* marker. Example:

- (18) *et attii incai aan*
 3SG:AOR *fell tree he*
'He cut down the tree'
- et attii cai aan*
 3SG:AOR *fell trees he*
'He cut down the trees'

On the other hand, human nouns not only delete *n- ~ in-*, but replace this with *ilpu-* (sometimes *elpu-*) as a marker of human plurality.⁶ Example:

- (19) *et asjii inman a natañañ*
 3SG:AOR *shoot bird SM man*
'The man shot a bird'
- era asjii man a ilpu-atañañ*
 NSG:AOR *shoot birds SM HUM:PL-man*
'The men shot birds'

Inanimate nouns which do not begin with *n- ~ in-* do not formally distinguish singular and plural. Number is deduced from subject-marking prefixes (if the noun is subject), as in (20), or from specific numeral or quantifying verbs, as in (21). Note, however, that *kuri* in (22) is ambiguous as to number.

- (20) *et hag a kuri*
 3SG:AOR *dine SM dog*
'The dog ate/is eating'
- era hag a kuri*
 NSG:AOR *dine SM dog*
'The dogs ate/are eating'

- (21) et ciñ kuri et anag a nataññ
 3SG:AOR eat dog 3SG:AOR many SM man
 'The man ate/is eating many dogs'

- (22) et ciñ kuri a nataññ
 3SG:AOR eat dog SM man
 'The man ate/is eating a dog/dogs'

Human nouns which do not begin with n- ~ in- simply prefix ilpu-? Example:

- (23) et ñan apam a ñabo-k
 3SG:AOR PF come SM grandchild-my
 'My grandchild has come'
- era ñan apam a ilpu-ñabo-k
 NSG:AOR PF come SM HUM:PL-grandchild-my
 'My grandchildren have come'

A difficulty arises in describing the plural forms of nouns referring to the larger animals. It appears that both simple deletion of n- ~ in-, and replacement of n- ~ in- with ilpu-, are both possible. Thus both epece and ilpu-epece are grammatical plurals of nepcece 'shark', and kuri and ilpu-kuri are grammatical plurals of kuri 'dog'. The forms with ilpu- seem to be less acceptable, or at least less common. Whether there is any semantic distinction I am unable to say.

Two other forms, both treated in Lynch (1976) but only one found in Capell's MS, need to be mentioned briefly here. Both Capell and I isolated a plural prefix niji- (Capell also gives the form iji-) which is added to inanimate nouns after n- ~ in- has been deleted: inhat 'stone', hat and niji-hat 'stones'. Capell says that the prefixation of niji- (~ iji-) "does not add anything to the meaning of the expression" (C:57), and similarly I was unable to discover any difference between, for example, hat and niji-hat as plural forms of inhat 'stone'. The similarity of niji- ~ iji- to various deictics (cf. 2.5.3. below), however, leads me to suggest that this prefix may denote a more definite plural than simple deletion of the noun-marker. However, further research is necessary to test this.

I also isolated a form nupu-, which does not appear in Capell's MS, which was occasionally used as a plural marker on non-human animate nouns; e.g. nupu-kuri 'dogs'. This may possibly mark a more definite plural, and its similarity to ilpu- should also be noted. Again, however, further investigation is needed.

2.2.3. Compound nouns

Compound nouns tend to be of the form Head + modifier and to have the structure noun + verb, noun + adjective, or noun + noun. In the case of compounds with the structure noun + verb or noun + adjective, there is little to be said regarding their morphology, as the following examples will show:

(24) Noun + Verb

intoshou-alai	(shell-blow)	'conch trumpet'
nadiat-atumop	(day-rest)	'Sunday, sabbath'
nau-ata	(knife-cut)	'circumcision-knife'
niom-amyia	(house-menstruate)	'menstrual hut'

Noun + Adjective

namjeg-acen	(sleep-poisonous)	'nightmare'
nedou-ijiñis	(behaviour-high)	'matter of pride'

Noun + noun compounds show greater morphological complexity. There are no clear cases of noun + noun without some change. In some cases, the noun-marker *n-* ~ *in-* is dropped from the second noun:

(25)	nepcev + inligiñhap	> nepcevligiñhap
	'shark' 'shoulder'	'hammerhead shark'
	inpai + niom	> inpaiyom
	'site' 'house'	'house-site'
	nita + acred + neañ	> nitaacredeañ
	'thing' 'scrape' 'coconut'	'coconut-grater /scraper'
	numri- + nemta-	> numriemta-
	'hair' 'eye'	'eyebrows, eyelashes'

Other cases are less clearcut, like those shown below in (26). In these examples, the first noun is inalienable, and the root ends in a vowel; the second noun in each compound begins with *in-*. Clearly, the *i* of *in-* is lost; and since Anejom does have a possessive construct suffix *-i*, I suggest that these forms in fact show reduction of *in-* to *n-* in these compounds (cf. 3.2.2.2. below). Examples:

(26)	narase- + incai	> narasencai
	'skin' 'tree'	'bark'
	neduo- + inriti-	> neduonriti-
	'bone' 'chest'	'rib'
	nesepya- + inhade-	> nesepyanhade-
	'nipple' 'breast'	'nipple'

Interrogative compounding should also be briefly mentioned here. An interrogative form which is basically *neve* does not appear to occur alone but occurs as the first member of a compound with nouns:

(27)	nei awod neve-kuri aak?
	2SG:AOR hit which-dog you:SG
	'Which dog did you (SG) hit?'

However, nouns with an initial noun-marker show some morphophonemic reduction. The noun-marker *n-* is lost, and *neve* becomes *nev* before the following vowel; the noun-marker *in-* is lost, but *neve* remains *neve* before the following consonant. Examples:

(28)	neve + natimi 'person'	nevatimi 'which person? who?'
	neve + nouban 'time'	nevouban 'which time? when?'
	neve + nitai 'thing'	nevitai 'which thing? what?'
	neve + nelcau 'canoe'	nevelcau 'which canoe?'
	neve + natañañ 'man'	nevatañañ 'which man?'
	neve + intaketha 'woman'	nevetaketha 'which woman?'

2.3. Verbs

Verbs in Anejom "include numerals and quantitative words in general as well as verbs as understood in European languages. They are distinguishable formally as a class by the presence immediately before them of certain supplements [i.e. particles]" which mark subject, tense, and aspect (C:33). Unlike the other languages of Southern Vanuatu, these particles are not prefixes to verbs, and a discussion of the verbal morphology of Anejom is thus simpler than that of its relatives.

2.3.1. Classes of verbs

Verbs may be divided into a number of classes according to semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria which will become obvious later in this sketch.

Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a class of verbs which are used generally with preposed verbal particles, but may also be used with the multiplicative prefix *ec-*. Within this class, the numerals form a large subclass, and they are further characterised by the ability to occur alone in serial counting or in answers to questions.

The true [Anejom] numerals are not fully preserved, because English numerals have been taught from the earliest days of Mission work for all numbers above five; in the Bible translation *for* is used for 'four' and *ford* ['fɔrθ] for 'fourth'. (C:39)

The five numerals which I recorded are:

- (29) *ithii* '*one*'
 erou '*two*'
 esej '*three*'
 mijman '*four*'
 meled '*five*'

The original system was apparently quinary, with compounds used for forms above five (C:39-40). The first three numerals given by Capell correspond to those given above; however, he gives *manohwan* '*four*' and *nijman* '*five*' — note the similarity of the latter to the modern form for 'four'. The compounds for numerals above five were apparently formed with a morpheme *celed*, which is again similar to the modern form for five. Some of these compounds are, from Capell's sketch:

- (30) *nijman celed et ithii* '*six*'
 nijman celed et erou '*seven*'
 nijman celed et esej '*eight*'
 nijman celed et manohwan '*nine*'
 nijman lep ijman '*ten*'

The form for twenty given by Capell — *nijman erou un reduon* — makes reference to hands (*nijman*) and feet (*reduon* — probably *neduon*). However, these forms have all died out.

The multiplicative prefix *ec-* may be affixed to any of the numerals: *ec-ithii* 'once', *ec-esej* 'three time', etc. It may also be affixed to other quantifiers, such as *anag* 'many', *ehed* 'how many?', and so on — e.g. *ec-anag* 'many times', *ec-ehed* 'how many times?'.

Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs never take objects. Some examples:

- (31) *hag* 'eat, dine'
mas 'die'
atga 'walk, go, travel'
etec 'stay'
amjeg 'sleep'

Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs require an object, and have no transitive suffix.

Examples:

- (32) *ciñ* 'eat'
atou 'know'
awod 'hit'
acan 'spear'
asvamos 'twist, wring'

Other Verbs

As will be seen in 2.3.5. below, there are problems regarding the identification of the transitive suffix in Anejom, and assessing its role. There are a number of pairs like *hag* 'eat (intransitive)', *ciñ* 'eat (transitive)', where the relation of transitivity is not expressed morphologically but lexically; there are other pairs like *awanipiñ* 'smell (intransitive)', *ipñii* 'smell (transitive)' where, although the verb forms are similar, there is no clear derivational process by which one is derived from the other. The class of other verbs thus comprises verbs which may function transitively, and which appear to have a transitive suffix (-i, -ii, -ai, -oi, -ñ), but whose root does not apparently occur alone.

2.3.2. Verb roots

In common with other languages of the region, Anejom shows evidence of a process in which an initial vowel, usually /a/, was added to consonant-initial roots. The following inherited forms from Proto-Oceanic (POC) show this process clearly.

(33)	POC	Anejom	
	*kali	acji	'dig'
	*kati	aces	'bite'
	*luaq	alou	'vomit'
	*matakut	emtac	'fear'
	*pano	apan	'go'
	*tolu	esej	'three'

Not all verbs, however, are vowel-initial. Capell gives a table showing the occurrence of initial phonemes in verbs in Inglis' dictionary (C:6). The table shows about 90% of Anejom verbs are vowel-initial, with about 10% being consonant-initial. Of the vowel-initial verbs, nearly 56% begin with /a/ and almost 20% begin with /e/. The function of this prefix is not clear. Capell, in discussing Kern's (1906) study of Anejom, states that Kern identified a verbal prefix a-,

predominantly a marker of the intransitive. ... There are instances in which transitive forms begin with a-, and comparison shows that the a- is a prefix and not part of the root. ... The study of [Anejom] is continually made complex by the petrified state of its words, of which no clear analysis can be given apart from diachronic comparisons (C:34).

Synchronically, it is impossible to assign any function to this prefixed a-, although a few cases discussed in the next section suggest that it may have been a verb-marker or verb-formative.

Verbal roots are "invariable except for those — comparatively few — which are modified to indicate plurality of goal. The following list of such plural object verbs does not claim to be exhaustive" (C:37). Capell's list (C:37-39) is given below, together with corrections and additions from Hewitt 1966.

Singular	Plural	
acaldei	atai	'cut'
acas	ecas, ecescas	'burn, sour'
ahtalcai	etukocai	'split (wood)'
apitac	epitpitac, atauwud	'follow'
asjupinmoñ	esjupinmoñ, isjupinmoñ	'substitute'
asvahtec	esvehtec	'be lame'
aswaplec	iswoplecoplec, iswisoplec, auwohoplecoplec	'break in two'

Singular	Plural	
athunwai	athoiwai	'draw water'
atii	ijgii	'place, put, choose'
atinau	tinau	'cease to cry'
atipanki	ijgipanki	'remove'
awonemtan	aworemtn	'buy'
ciñ	eciñ	'eat (trans.)'
ehcohos	ahcahos	'appear'
epev	ehpepev	'stink'
erek	erekrek	'be lean, thin'
esjilid	asjilid	'great'
ethañ	erekhañ	'lose, throw away'
etpojej	atpujejej	'burst'
hag	hegañ	'eat (intr.)'
heliañ	eliañ	'feeble'
isjepigmoñ	asjepigmoñ	'add to'
le (leh?)	lecsei	'take, get, receive'
mas	emesmas	'die'
ohyiomod	auhyiomod	'renew'
tañ	ehtañtañ	'cry, weep'
umoh	umumoh	'live'

Certain of these verbs are clearly intransitive (mas, umoh, for example), and it is not clear if in these cases the plural form refers to a plural subject. Many of the plural forms involve partial reduplication, and many involve a change in the initial vowel; however, there are a number of suppletive forms, and no general rule on formation can be stated. My own observations are that the phenomenon is relatively rare in (modern) Anejom, and that the list given by Capell may be taken as an indication of the number of verbs which have plural forms.

2.3.3. Formation

Generally, verbs (and adjectives) seem to be 'basic' in all the Southern Vanuatu languages; that is, cases of nouns derived from verbs are extremely common, whereas cases of verbs derived from other parts of speech are extremely rare. We have, however, mentioned one process of verbal derivation which, though not common, is found in a few cases. This is the deletion of the noun-marker *n- ~ in-* from nouns:

(34)	nisec	'stick'	isec	'be or become a stick'
	natañañ	'man'	atañañ	'be male; be careful'
	nataheñ	'woman'	ataheñ	'be female'
	inhalav	'child'	halav	'be childish'

There are also one or two cases which involve the prefixation of a- to other forms:

(35)	luŋa-	'drink possession'	aluŋa-	'give to drink'
	nabat	'darkness'	anabat	'be ancient'

2.3.4. Prefixes

Capell lists a number of prefixes to verbs, but these

derivational prefixes are so interwoven phonetically with the bases, and so few of them are actively productive, that it is often difficult to define which are simple and which are derived bases. In fact, it is safe to say that the distinction can hardly be made on the evidence of [Anejom] alone, but needs comparison with the corresponding forms in other languages. ... [These derived stems] are not used, as a rule, without their prefixes, and the prefixes may not be added at will to any stem to give any special nuance or meaning. That is why it was said that these prefixes are for the most part not productive in the modern language (C:32-33).⁸

In fact, the only apparently productive prefix to a verb in the modern language is the multiplicative prefix *ec-*, already discussed in 2.3.1. above.

2.3.5. Suffixes

Various kinds of suffixes may be added to Anejom verbs. In this section I briefly discuss pronoun object suffixes, suffixes of direction or location, and the transitive suffixes.

Pronoun object suffixes

When the object noun phrase is a pronoun, the focal forms discussed above are not used. Instead, shorter but related forms are placed after the verb. It is not absolutely clear from the available data whether these forms are in fact suffixes, or whether they are postposed, but free, object pronouns. Given the kinds of morphophonemic changes which take place especially in the singular forms, I suspect that they are suffixes. The forms are:

(36)		Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
	1st inc.		-cajau	-cataj	-caja
	1st exc.	-ŋak	-camrau	-camtaj	-cama
	2nd	-yic ~ -c	-courau	-coutaj	-cowa
	3rd	-yin ~ -n	-rau	-ettaj	-ra

The same remarks regarding the final syllable of the dual forms apply here as applied to the focal pronouns (2.1.). There are some morphophonemic changes to the second and third person singular forms, apparently involving loss of /yi/ after a vowel-final root.

While there are some differences, the forms of the objective pronouns are clearly related to the focal pronouns. The non-singular forms consist of a root and a number suffix, neither of which may occur without the other. The number suffixes are the same as identified for the focal pronouns: dual -rau, trial -taj, and plural -a. The pronominal roots are first inclusive -caj-, first exclusive -cam-, second -cou-, and third -r-; combinations of root and suffix involve similar morphophonemic changes to those discussed in 2.1. for the focal pronouns.

These objective pronominal forms are exemplified below:

- (37) et awod-yic aan
 3SG:AOR *hit-you*:SG *he*
'He hit/hits you (sg)'
- is ege-flak a kuri
 PAST *hear-me* SM *dog*
'The dog heard me'
- ek Man atgi-ra aḥak
 1SG:AOR PF *kill-them*:PL *I*
'I have just killed them (pl)'

Direction/location suffixes

A number of suffixes marking the direction or location of the action may be attached to verbs. These bear some relation to the deictics, discussed in 2.5.3.; partly for that reason, and partly because they are not well understood, I only mention them briefly here. Those isolated so far are:

- (38) -panki *'movement away'*
 -pan *'movement there'*
 -pam *'movement here'*
 -jai *'up, on top of, eastward'*
 -se *'down, (westward?)'*
 -sjipe *'back and forth, about'*

Some examples of verbs with these suffixes:

- (39) atii *'put'*
 ati-panki *'take away'*
 ati-jai *'put on top of'*
 ati-se *'put down'*
 yet- *'arrive'* (apparently not a free form)
 yet-pam *'arrive here'*
 yet-pan *'arrive there'*
 ahtag *'approach'*
 ahtag-pan *'approach there'*
 ahtag-pam *'approach here'*

atec	'sit'
atec-se	'sit down'
atec-jai	'sit on'
elad-	'look in a certain direction' (not a free form)
elad-jai	'look to the east'
elad-pan	'look towards'
atga	'walk'
atga-sjipe	'walk about, walk back and forth'

Transitive suffix(es)

This is a poorly understood area of Anejom grammar. When the object is a non-pronominal noun phrase, pronoun object suffixes are not used; instead, a transitive verb with an apparently fused transitive suffix is used. The problem in identifying transitive suffixes, however, is that, as has already been mentioned (2.3.1.), few intransitive verbs may take a suffix making them transitive. The clearest way of identifying the suffixes is to look at verb + object suffix, and verb with noun object; e.g.

- (40) is ecet-ñak a deto
 PAST see-me SM Deto
 'Deto saw me'
- is ect-ai kuri a deto
 PAST see-TRANS dog SM Deto
 'Deto saw a dog'

Neither Capell's MS nor my own data, however, contain large numbers of verbs in both environments, from which both the transitive suffixes and their conditioning environments can be extracted. There do appear to be two sets of suffixes: one has the basic form -i, often with a preceding vowel which is in fact the historical final vowel of the root which is dropped in certain environments (cf. ecet, ect-ai = ecta-i < POC *kita 'see'). The other suffix seems to be -ñ, or vowel + ñ, found in verbs like the following: adenañ 'hide', adgañ 'put on head', ahacñiñ 'awaken', ahodañ 'ask', alañ 'call to', amoñ 'drink', ariñ 'soften', ethañ 'lose', evañ 'show', and so on. However, little more can be said at this stage, and transitive-marking in Anejom remains a subject for further study.

2.4. Adjectives

Capell treats adjectives as a class of verbs, and in some ways this makes good sense: they show the same formation possibilities (2.3.3.) and, as head of a predicate, they may be preceded by the same subject, tense, and aspect markers as verbs (3.1.1. below). For example:

- (41) et albas a kuri
 3SG:AOR big SM dog
 'The dog is big'

However, there are two important differences between adjectives and verbs which suggest that the two belong to different classes. One is that adjectives never

take verbal suffixes of any kind, and the other is that adjectives may also be used non-predicatively. In this non-predicative use, the adjective follows the head noun of a noun phrase or the head verb of a verb phrase, and does not take a preverbal particle:

- (42) et awod kuri albas aen
 3SG:AOR *hit dog big he*
'He hit/hits the big dog'

2.5. Adjuncts

Adjuncts are similar to adjectives in that they follow the head of a noun phrase or verb phrase and "serve to delimit it in some way: to describe, to point out, to modify" (C:41). They differ from adjectives, however, in that they may never occur preceded by preverbal particles. Three types of adjunct will be briefly discussed here: indefinite adjuncts, modifiers, and deictics.

2.5.1. Indefinite adjuncts

Indefinite adjuncts usually precede the noun in a noun phrase. Some indefinite adjuncts are:

- (43) hal *'some, any'*
 tah *'any, either'*
 tak, intak *'other'*

Example:

- (44) ek man atgii hal pikad añaak
 1SG:AOR PF *kill some pig I*
'I have killed some pigs'

2.5.2. Modifiers

There appears to be another class of descriptive words which may not take preverbal particles but which follow the head of a noun or verb phrase. I have called these adjuncts modifiers. Some, like asga *'all'* follow the head, while others, like acen *'very'*, follow another adjunct or an adjective. The available data are so limited, however, that little further can be said about this class at this stage.

2.5.3. Deictics

A complex series of adjuncts serves to indicate emphasis, location, and movement in various ways and directions. Each [apparently] consists of a root, combined with prefixial and/or suffixial supplements. ... The relationships of these [roots and affixes] are complicated and phonetically somewhat irregular, so that they do not lend themselves to diagrammation. ... These forms are demonstratives and deictics, whether used alone pronominally or with a [noun] base adjectivally (C:42-43)

or a verb base adverbally. There appear to be at least forty such deictics in Anejom: a number are found in Capell's MS, some others in Hewitt 1966, and still others collected by me. This is another area where considerable further investigation is required; however, I attempt below an analysis based at least in part on that given by Capell (C:42-47).

Capell divides the deictics into three classes: emphasis, location, and movement. Those relating to movement appear to be directional suffixes to verbs, and have been treated above (2.3.5.). The remaining two classes correspond loosely with nominal deictics (demonstratives) and verbal or sentential deictics (locational adverbs) respectively, although there appears to be some overlap in usage and considerable similarity in formation.

Nominal deictics

The demonstratives are further analysable into three groups. One of these groups has to do with the reference system, and contains demonstratives marking previous reference:

- (45) *iyi, iyihki* 'previous reference, singular'
irahki 'previous reference, paucal'
iji, ijiiki 'previous reference, plural'
aŋki 'the one who'

Exactly what the semantic ranges of the paucal and plural forms are is not clear; similar contrasts exist in the other demonstrative sets, and Hewitt (1966) merely glosses them 'of a few' and 'of many'.

The other sets of demonstratives seem to be partially identical, except that one set has a prefix *i-*. The available evidence suggests that the set with *i-* is adjectival and the set without *i-* is pronominal; however, the data are insufficient to allow a secure statement on this matter. Again, the distinction between singular, paucal and plural is present, as is a distinction between near speaker, mid/near addressee, and far/near third person. There are one or two gaps in the data, but the extrapolated forms are included in square brackets in the following table:

(46)	Near	Mid	Far
Singular:	<i>niŋki, ni</i>	<i>nanai, nanei, na</i>	[<i>naikou</i>]
	<i>iniŋki</i>	<i>inana, inanei</i>	<i>inaikou</i>
	<i>iniŋ, ineŋ</i>	<i>inai</i>	
	<i>ini</i>	<i>ina</i>	
Paucal:	<i>raŋki</i>	[<i>ranai</i>]	<i>raŋkou</i>
	<i>iraŋki</i>	[<i>iranai</i>]	<i>iraŋkou</i>
Plural	<i>jiŋki</i>	[<i>jiknai</i>]	<i>jiknaikou</i>
	<i>ijiŋki</i>	<i>ijiknai</i>	<i>ijiknaikou</i>
	<i>ijiin</i>		

Although, as Capell suggested, considerable morphophonemic changes have taken place, the elements of the system seem to be reconstructible:

Number: na-/ni- 'singular', ra- 'paucal', ji(i)-/jik- 'plural'

Roots: -ñ-ki 'near', -nai 'mid', -ñ-kou/-nai-kou 'far'.

Capell also gives an 'inclusive plural' form in sji- (e.g. sjiñki, sjiiki), but he does not give full paradigms.

Locative deictics

The locative deictics are also complex. The basic locatives show a similar formation to the nominal deictics, with a near/mid/far distinction, and also a separate set marking previous reference:

(47)	Near	Mid	Far
Simple:	inkahenka	ankehan	oupankou
	inkahe		eankou
	inka		ean
Previous reference:	inkaki, inkahki		eahki
Awareness of thing sought:	aabiñki (sg.)		abnaikou
	aanjiñki (pl.)		

More specific locations are encoded by using these bases or demonstrative bases and the directional suffixes discussed in 2.3.5.. Rather than attempting to diagram these other locational deictics, it is easier to list those so far recorded under a number of headings; because of various combinations, some appear more than once.

(48) Upwards:	jipan, maretjipan	'upwards'
	inkajai	'up here'
	jipankou	'up there'
	jipaikou	'up inland'
Downwards:	upou	'downwards'
	sepan	'downwards'
	adehpan	'downwards'
	sepankou	'down from speaker'
	sepamki	'down here'
	inkase	'down here'
Seawards:	pokou	'seawards'
	inkapok	'seawards'
Landwards:	inkahi	'landwards'
	inkapahai	'on landward side'

Inland:	paikou	'inland'
	pahaikou	'inland'
	jipaikou	'up inland'
	itohou	'far inland'
Eastwards:	jaikou	'eastwards'
	inkajai	'eastwards'
Westwards:	sohkou	'westwards'
	adehpan	'westwards'
	inkase	'westwards'
Side:	inkapam	'on this side'
	inkapan	'on that side'

3. PHRASE STRUCTURE

This section examines in turn the structure of verb phrases, noun phrases, and other kinds of phrases in Anejom.

3.1. Verb phrases

Verb phrases have as head either a verb root (with appropriate affixes) or an adjective root. Various adjuncts or adjectives may follow the head of the verb phrase, and a number of sets of particles may precede the head. In this section we first examine these particles, and then look at the structure of the verb phrase in more detail.

3.1.1. Subject/tense/mood particles

Tense and mood are indicated by a number of supplements [i.e. particles], no doubt originally independent particles, but now disguised by various degrees of compounding with elements of a pronominal nature (C:60).

While a certain amount of historical analysis can probably be carried out, the forms are basically unsegmentable. Considerable reduction in these particles has also taken place over the last century, which presents some complication in presentation.

Three basic sets of subject/tense/mood (STM) particles are found, and these may be used in combination with other aspect particles to give a range of tense/aspect combinations. The three sets are aorist indicative, past indicative, and subjunctive; the semantics of these sets will become clear in this and succeeding sections.

Capell's MS lists the three sets of STM particles, providing corrections where Bible translations show departures from Inglis' (1882) grammar sketch. I will compare Capell's forms with those that I elicited; I should point out,

however, that not only do the forms that I elicited differ from those given by Capell, due to wholesale reduction of the system, but the two Anejom-speakers who worked with me differed slightly among themselves. In these latter cases, the earlier data collected from an older speaker appears on the left and is separated by a semicolon from the more recent data collected from a younger speaker.⁹

Aorist indicative

Capell shows separate forms for all persons and numbers:

(49)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc.		intau	intaj	inta
1st exc.	ek	ecrau	ektaj, ektij	ecra
2nd	na	ekau	ahtaj	eka
3rd	et	erau	ehtaj	era

Before the aspect markers *pu* 'future' and *mu* 'hortative', a number of assimilatory changes were noted: the second person dual form *ekau* becomes *akau* before *pu* and *aru* before *mu*, while the plural forms occur as *intu*, *ecru*, *aku*, and *eru*.

Modern data shows a breakdown of the system:

(50)	Singular	Non-singular
1st inc.		ekra; era ~ rai-
1st exc.	ek ~ k-	ekra; era ~ rai-
2nd	nei ~ na-	ekra; era ~ rai-
3rd	et ~ t-	ekra; era ~ rai-

Before the future marker *pu*, *nei* > *na*, *ekra* > *ekru*, *era* > *eru*, and *rai-* > *ru-*.

Past indicative

The forms given by Capell are:¹⁰

(51)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc.		intis	[intijis]	imjis
1st exc.	kis	ecrus	ektijis	ecris
2nd	as	akis	ahtijis	akis
3rd	is	erus	ehtijis	eris

Again, the forms I elicited show considerable breakdown of the original system:

(52)	Singular	Non-singular
1st inc.		kis; is
1st exc.	kis; is	is
2nd	is	ekris; is
3rd	is	ekris; is

Subjunctive

The forms given by Capell and Inglis are:

(52)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc.		tu	tiji	ti
1st exc.	inki, ki	ecru	tiji	ecri
2nd	an	eru	tiji	aki
3rd	inyi, yi	eru	tiji	eri

By contrast, the forms I elicited are:

(54)	Singular	Non-singular
1st inc.		ri
1st exc.	ki	ri
2nd	ni	ri; ra
3rd	iñiyi ~ yi	ri; ra

Segmentation

The data given by Capell suggests that the forms can probably be analysed, at least historically, as follows:

(55)	Person	Number	Tense/Mood
ek	1st sg		-is past
nei	2nd sg		-Ø aorist
et	3rd sg		-i/-u subjunctive
int-	1st inc. nsq	-au dual	
ecr-	1st exc. nsq	-taj/-tij trial	
ek-	2nd nsq	-a plural	
er-	3rd nsq		

Developments in the system

It is clear from an examination of the data given above that there have been significant changes in the system of STM particles in Anejom. Firstly, the distinction between dual, trial, and plural has been lost, with modern Anejom-speakers now marking only a singular/non-singular distinction. Second, a distinction between the persons has been lost in the aorist non-singular and is being lost in the past and subjunctive non-singular and the past singular. There is evidence, in the aorist indicative at least, that what were once free particles are becoming prefixes to verbs. Further fieldwork, however, will be necessary to show precisely what changes have taken place and are taking place.

3.1.2. Tense and aspect

A number of different tenses and aspects are marked by the STM markers alone or in combination with some other particle which follows them.

Aorist

The aorist tense is marked by the aorist indicative markers with no following tense/aspect particle. The tense indicates a present or recent past action or state.

- (56) ek hag añaak
 1SG:AOR eat I
 'I am eating', 'I eat', 'I (just) ate'
- et aviñ numu aen
 3SG:AOR want fish he
 'He wants a fish', 'He (recently) wanted a fish'

Past

Past tense is marked by the past indicative markers with no following tense/aspect particle. This tense indicates an action or state in the past, but not the very recent past.

- (57) is hag añaak
 PAST eat I
 'I ate'
- is aviñ numu aen
 PAST want fish he
 'He wanted a fish'

Future

The future marker is pu, which follows the STM particles. A simple future is marked by aorist indicative particles plus pu:

- (58) ek pu hag añaak
 1SG:AOR FUT eat I
 'I will eat'
- et pu aviñ numu aen
 3SG:AOR FUT want fish he
 'He will want a fish'

A future-in-the-past sense is conveyed by past indicative particles plus pu:

- (59) is ika aen is pu apam imrañ
 PAST say he PAST FUT come tomorrow
 'He said that he would come tomorrow'
- is ika aen is pu apam añaak imrañ
 PAST say he PAST FUT come I tomorrow
 'He said that I would come tomorrow'

Another particle, *mu*,

is not used as a pure future, but in sentences which contain a general prescription, an exhortation, a stimulus. Therefore, it embraces the imperative in the 1st and 3rd persons and even in the 2nd person in a request, prayer, or urging (C:62 quoting Kern 1906:57).

It also appears to have a subjunctive or vague future sense. Examples:

- (60) *is* *Man* *atou* *aen* *mika* *mu* *ude-ra*
 PAST PF *know he that* FUT/HOR *leave-them:PL*
'He knew that he would leave them'
- et* *mu* *hag* *aen*
 3SG:AOR FUT/HOR *eat he*
'He will eat!', 'Let him eat!'

Perfective

The perfective or assertive particle, *Man*, may follow either the aorist or the past STM particles. The former combination indicates recent completion, while the latter indicates completion not so recent:

- (61) *ek* *Man* *hag* *añak*
 1SG:AOR PF *eat I*
'I have just eaten'
- is* *Man* *hag* *añak*
 PAST PF *eat I*
'I have eaten'

Temporal/conditional

The markers used in conditions or in temporal phrases are *wat* and *wut*; *wat* is used in the past, *wut* in the future. Both may be preceded by aorist STM markers, with *wat* also having the potential of being preceded by past STM markers. Examples of the use of these particles will be given in the discussion on complex sentences in section 5.2.2.

Assertive

The assertive marker *idim* comes between the STM markers and the head:

- (62) *et* *idim* *upnii*
 3SG:AOR ASSERT *good*
'It is good indeed'
- ek* *pu* *idim* *apan* *m-asjaña*
 1SG:AOR FUT ASSERT *go ES-fish*
'I will surely go fishing'

3.1.3. Negation

The negative marker *itiyi* follows the markers of aspect.¹¹ Some examples:

- (63) *et itiyi hag aen*
 3SG:AOR NEG *eat he*
'He is not eating', 'He didn't (just) eat'
- is itiyi aviñ numu añaak*
 PAST NEG *want fish I*
'I didn't want a fish'
- na pu itiyi apam aek*
 2SG:AOR FUT NEG *come you:SG*
'You (sg) will not come'

The perfective particle *man*, however, may not be used with the negative *itiyi*; instead, a negative perfective particle *fi* is used, and this functions as an adverbial particle (cf. 3.1.4.) in that it follows rather than precedes the negative:

- (64) **et man itiyi hag aen*
 3SG:AOR PF NEG *eat he*
- et itiyi fi hag aen*
 3SG:AOR NEG *not:yet eat he*
'He hasn't eaten yet'

3.1.4. Adverbial particles

A number of adverbial particles may occur between the negative particle and the verb root. Those identified so far are listed below:

- (65) *lep* 'also, again'
ici 'thus' (also *uce*, *uco*, *ucco*)
top 'merely, just'
fi 'not yet'
bar 'next, then'
upcii 'first'
am sequential action

These particles are best exemplified in continuous text, and reference should be made to the text at the end of this grammar sketch. Some examples, however, are given below:

- (66) *is man upcii apam aen jae is bar amjeg añaak*
 PAST PF *first come he then PAST next sleep I*
'After he came, I slept'
- is ecet deto a tosei is am lav aen*
 PAST *see Deto SM Tosei PAST SEQ laugh she*
'Tosei saw Deto and then she (Deto) laughed'
- is man lep ege-yin attaj*
 PAST PF *again hear-him they:TR*
'The three of them heard him again'

More than one such particle may be used in a single verb phrase:

- (67) itwuacen is wat top am rijai a nalañaheni anejom ...
long:ago PAST TEMP merely SEQ arrive SM religion Aneityum ...
'Long ago, when religion first arrived in Aneityum ...'

3.1.5. Verb phrase structure

The Anejom verb phrase has the following structure:

STM + (Aspect) + (Neg) + (Adv) + HEAD + (Adjunct/Adjective)

Examples of verb phrases containing various preposed particles have been given above. In addition, a verb phrase may contain a postposed adjunct or adjective:

- (68) is lep amen upnii a natimi
PAST also stay good SM people
'The people lived well'
- is omrag upnii aen
PAST old good he
'He was very old'
- is adia asga aen
PAST go:away all he
'He died' (lit., 'He went away altogether')

As will be clear from the Anejom text in section 6, the STM particles may be omitted in discourse, when both the tense is recoverable from context and when the subject is overtly marked. In what might be termed 'colloquial' Anejom, the STM particles may also be omitted in individual sentences, under the same conditions. I will return to this in the discussion of clause and sentence structure (cf. section 5.3. below).

3.2. Noun phrases

In this section, I will examine two types of noun phrases in Anejom: the simple noun phrase, which may include an adjective or numeral preceded by an STM marker, and the possessive phrase. The structure of the noun phrase is summarised in section 3.2.3., as is the syntax of coordinate noun phrases.

3.2.1. Simple noun phrases

Simple noun phrases minimally contain, as head, a noun or a pronoun. Indefinite adjuncts may precede the head, and the head may be followed by an adjunct or an adjective, which itself may be followed by a deictic. Some examples are given below:

- (69) et ñan ciñ wametec aen
3SG:AOR PF eat sweet:potato he
'He has eaten sweet potato'
- et awod kuri albas aen
3SG:AOR hit dog big he
'He hit/is hitting a big dog'

et epjededjed inyubal ini
 3SG:AOR *short story this*
'This story is short'

inyubal invijic ini
 story true this
'This true story'

hal pikad
 some pig
'Some pigs'

Noun phrases like those discussed above may be expanded by adding an adjective or numeral, preceded by a STM marker, after the head noun. This is the only way in which numerals can be incorporated into a noun phrase, and the commonest way of expressing adjectives. Some examples:

- (70) is lep amen nomrag is echei
 PAST also stay old:man PAST different
'There was also another man'
- is amen a nomrag is ithii ahajom
 PAST stay SM old:man PAST one Ahajom
'There was an old man living at Ahajom'
- et awod kuri albas et erou aen
 3SG:AOR hit dog big 3SG:AOR two he
'He hit/is hitting two big dogs'
- is ect-ai kuri albas et apeñ añak
 PAST see-TRANS dog big 3SG:AOR black I
'I saw a big black dog'

3.2.2. Possessive phrases

It will be convenient to divide this discussion of the possessive phrase into two parts – pronominal possession (possession by a pronoun), and nominal possession.

3.2.2.1. Pronominal possession. As in most Oceanic languages, Anejom shows a formal distinction between inalienable or direct possession, and alienable or active possession. Direct possession involves suffixation of pronominal forms to nouns referring to kinship terms or parts of the body or of things; active possession involves other types of nouns, and in these constructions the pronominal forms are suffixed to special possessive morphemes.

Inalienable (direct) constructions

The inalienable or direct construction requires that pronominal forms be suffixed directly to the possessed nouns. The pronominal suffixes are:

(71)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc.		-jau	-taj	-ja
1st exc.	-k	-mrau	-mtaj	-ma
2nd	-m	-mirau	-mitaj	-mia
3rd	-n	-rau	-ttaj	-ra

The similarity of these forms to other pronominal forms, especially in the non-singular numbers, will be obvious. The variation between au and ou in the dual pronouns, discussed above in 2.1., occurs also in the suffixed possessive forms of the pronouns.

These suffixes are illustrated in paradigm form below; the root noun to which they are suffixed is risi- 'mother':

(72)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc.		risijau	risitaj	risija
1st exc.	risik	risimrau	risimtaj	risima
2nd	risim	risimirau	risimitaj	risimia
3rd	risin	risirau	risittaj	risira

Alienable (active) constructions

Alienable or active possession requires suffixation of pronominal forms to a possessive morpheme, which follows the possessed noun. There are three such possessive morphemes in Anejom: *inca-*, used with things for eating; *luŋa-*, used with things for drinking; and *u-*, used with other possessions. The possessive morphemes *inca-* and *luŋa-* take the suffixes listed above in (71), as the following examples show:

- (73) *intal inca-ra*
taro POSS:EAT-*their*:PL
'Their (pl) taro (for eating)'
- wametec inca-k*
sweet:potato POSS:EAT-*my*
'My sweet potato (to eat)'
- inwai luŋa-n*
water POSS:DRINK-*his*
'His water (to drink)'

The general possessive morpheme *u-*, however, shows a number of morphophonemic variations to the base and to certain of the possessive suffixes; the full paradigm is listed below:

(74)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc.		ujau	utaj	uja
1st exc.	uŋak	uŋimrau	uŋimtaj	uŋima
2nd	uŋum	uŋimirau	uŋimitaj	uŋimia
3rd	uwun	urau	uwottaj	ura

Some variation has been observed in these forms: the third person trial also occurs as uettaj, while the second person non-singular forms also show u after ñ – i.e., uñumirau, uñumitaj, and uñumia as well as the forms given above. Thus the general alienable possessive morpheme has the allomorphs u-, uñV- and uwV-; u- has been chosen as the base form since, as will be seen in 3.2.2.2. below, that is the form that is used in nominal possession.

The use of the general alienable possessive morpheme is exemplified below:

- (75) niom uñak
 house POSS:my
 'My house'
- pikad uwun
 pig POSS:his
 'His pig'
- intal ura
 taro POSS:their:PL
 'Their (pl) taro (not specifically viewed as food)'

3.2.2.2. Nominal possession. This discussion of possession of a noun by a noun is again divided into inalienable and alienable sections.

Inalienable constructions

When a noun is possessed by another noun, the construct suffix -i appears on the possessed noun:

- (76) etma-i deto
 father-CONS Deto
 'Deto's father'
- nijma-i risi-m
 hand-CONS mother-his
 'His mother's hand'

When the possessed noun already ends in i, this i plus the construct suffix merge as i: thus risi-i deto 'Deto's mother' surfaces as risi deto.

From the limited data available, it appears that when a noun beginning with the noun marker in- is preceded by the construct suffix -i, both occurrences of /i/ are deleted:

- (77) inra-ncai (underlying inra-i incai)
 branch-tree branch-CONS tree
 'Branch of a tree'
- nijma-ntaketha (underlying nijma-i intaketha)
 hand-woman hand-CONS woman
 'The woman's hand'

Alienable constructions

When a noun is possessed alienably by another noun, the possessive morphemes discussed above are used. The general possessive morpheme has the form *u*. The specific possessive morphemes require the construct suffix, and appear as *inca-i* (eating possession) and *luṃa-i* (drinking possession).

Examples:

- (78) *niom u intaketha*
house POSS woman
'The woman's house'
- inman-alawowa u inwai*
hole-bubble:up POSS water
'Source of a river'
- intal inca-i intaketha*
taro POSS:EAT-CONS woman
'The woman's taro (to eat)'
- inwai luṃa-i di?*
water POSS:DRINK-CONS who
'Whose water (to drink)?'

3.2.3. Noun phrase structure

The Anejom noun phrase thus has the following structure:

- (Indef) + HEAD + (Adjunct
 Adjective) + (Deictic) + (Poss.Phr)

Only indefinite adjuncts precede the head; all other modifiers follow the head, in the order given above. One example from the text in section 6 shows that possessive constituents follow deictics:

- (79) *et Man inii inyubal ini ujou*
 3SG:AOR PF *finish story this POSS:our:INC:DU*
'This story of ours (inc.du) is finished'

Noun phrases are coordinated by the conjunction *im*. Capell gives the example *nouhatag im nopohtan* 'heaven and earth' (C:66). Note also the following:

- (80) *risi-k na im deto*
mother-my DEIC:MID and Deto
'Deto's and my mother'
- risi-i deto im risi-k*
mother-CONS Deto and mother-my
'Deto's mother and my mother'

3.3. Other phrases

Various other types of phrases, some of which are introduced by prepositions, will be discussed in this section. There is a considerable amount of material available on locative and temporal phrases, but rather less on other types of phrases, which have been discussed only briefly.

3.3.1. Locative phrases

Locative phrases in Anejom fall into a number of subtypes: some are introduced by prepositions, some use locational inalienable possessed nouns, and some are unmarked.

When the head of the locative phrase is a placename or an interrogative, the phrase is unmarked:

- (81) is amen a n-omrag is ithii ahajom
 PAST live SM NOM-old PAST one Ahajom
 'There was an old man living at Ahajom'

is apan aen vila
 PAST go he Vila
 'He went to Vila'

et ehese aen anelcauhat
 3SG:AOR come:from he Anelcauhat
 'He came from Anelcauhat'

na amen aek eda?
 2SG:AOR live you:SG where
 'Where do you (sg) live?'

et apan aen eda?
 3SG:AOR go he where
 'Where is he going/did he go?'

In one case (see the text in section 6), the form eitei precedes a placename:

- (82) is amen aen eitei anouyac
 PAST live he ? Anouyac
 'He lived at Anouyac'

If indeed eitei is a locative-marker, I have no evidence as to its nature.

The basic locative prepositions are a and u, and a large number of locative phrases whose heads are not placenames or interrogatives are introduced by one or other of these two prepositions, either alone or in combination with some other element (see below). The difference in meaning between a and u is not clear; the following examples show that, while they behave similarly, they are not totally interchangeable:

- (83) et ehese aen u incai
 3SG:AOR come:from she LOC tree
 'She is coming from the tree'
- et ehese aen a nauritai
 3SG:AOR come:from she LOC garden
 'She is coming from the garden'
- *et ehese aen u nauritai
 3SG:AOR come:from she LOC garden

The examples in (83) suggest that either there is some slight semantic difference between a and u, or their use is conditioned by the following noun – it is clear that they can be used with the same verbs. It also appears that u is less common than a, although the evidence available is not wholly clear on this.

Each of these prepositions undergoes and/or causes a number of morphophonemic changes. Nouns beginning with the noun-marker in- drop the /i/ when preceded by a: thus a inilitai 'LOC bush' becomes a nilitai; forms like this will be

written with a hyphen (a-nlilitai) to indicate this. Before a pronoun, a is replaced by ira-, and this form takes possessive suffixes. Before plural nouns, the form ira-, with the construct suffix -i, is used; ira-i is also used before at least some borrowed nouns. Examples:

- (84) ek apan añaak a nauritai
 1SG:AOR go I LOC garden
'I am going to the garden'
- et ehese aen a-nlilitai (cf. inlilitai 'bush')
 3SG:AOR come:from she LOC-bush
'She is coming from the bush'
- et atec-se aen ira-k
 3SG:AOR sit-down he LOC-my
'He sat down on me'
- era amen ira-i iom (cf. niom 'house')
 NSG:AOR stay LOC-CONS houses
'They are staying in their houses'
- is apan aen ira-i taun
 PAST go he LOC-CONS town
'He has gone to town'

Regarding the preposition u, Capell's MS shows the forms ura- before pronouns (which occur as possessive suffixes) and ura-i before plural nouns; i.e. the pattern seems to be the same as for a. However, I have no examples of these allomorphs of u.

I have identified two locative inalienably possessed nouns (exclusive of the forms ira- and ura- discussed above). One is ehele- which, in its locative sense, has the meaning 'to' or 'towards'; it also has a dative sense (cf. 3.3.3.). The other locative noun is etha- 'under'. Examples:

- (85) et apam aen ehele-k
 3SG:AOR come he towards-my
'He came towards me'
- et apan aen vila ehele-i inhal uwun
 3SG:AOR go he Vila towards-CONS son POSS:his
'He went to Vila to his son'
- et atec a kuri etha-ncai
 3SG:AOR sit SM dog under-tree
'The dog is sitting under the tree'

Other locative senses are conveyed by 'compound prepositions' — i.e. nouns compounds with either a or u. Those so far identified are given below:

- (86) a-nloulai- 'on top of'
 a nahaje- 'beside'
 a nepla- 'between'
 a-nlii- 'inside'
- ijhou a 'outside'
 ijiñis a 'on top of'
 itac a 'behind'
 uhup a 'in front of'

- itac acen pan u *'far from'*
 opotpotet u *'near'* (with nouns)
 opotpotet ehele- *'near'* (with pronouns)

Some examples:

- (87) et amen a intaketha a-nlii-i niom
 3SG:AOR stay SM woman LOC-inside-CONS house
'The woman is inside the house'
 et apam a pikad opotpotet ehele-k
 3SG:AOR come SM pig near towards-my
'The pig came near me'
 et amen a kuri itac a niom
 3SG:AOR stay SM dog behind LOC house
'The dog is behind the house'

3.3.2. Temporal phrases

Unmarked temporal phrases consist of temporal nouns like the following:

- (88) inpiñ *'today'*
 imrañ *'tomorrow'*
 iyenev *'yesterday'*
 itwuacen *'long ago'*
 kou *'now'*

For example:

- (89) et pu apam a risi-k imrañ
 3SG:AOR FUT come SM mother-my tomorrow
'My mother is coming tomorrow'

Other temporal phrases are marked by the preposition *a*, whose use in locative phrases was discussed in 3.3.1. above. Examples:

- (90) et apam aen a nouban?
 3SG:AOR come he LOC time
'When did he come?'
 et apam aen a nev-ouban?
 3SG:AOR come he LOC which-time
'What time did he come?'
 is itiyi hag aen a nuyaleg
 PAST NEG eat he LOC morning
'He didn't eat in the morning/this morning'
 is hag aek iyenev a nepeñ ka a'o?
 PAST eat you:SG yesterday LOC night or no
'Did you (sg) eat last night?'
 is hag affak a-njupura
 PAST eat I LOC-evening
'I ate in the evening'

3.3.3. Other prepositional phrases

A number of other prepositional phrases are briefly discussed in this section.

Dative/benefactive

The major dative/benefactive preposition is *imta-*, which takes pronominal suffixes or the construct suffix:

- (91) *et tas imta-i tosei aen*
 3SG:AOR *speak* DAT-CONS *Tosei he*
'He spoke to Tosei'
- ek pu yubal imta-m*
 1SG:AOR FUT *tell:story* DAT-*your:SG*
'I will tell you (sg) a story'

As was noted above, the locative inalienably possessed noun *ehele-* is also used with a dative sense:¹²

- (92) *ek meret añaak mika ki asañ yubal ehelo-m*
 1SG:AOR *want I that* 1SG:SUBJ *tell story* DAT-*your:SG*
'I want to tell you (sg) a story'

Capell also lists the preposition *imi*, but I have only recorded one case of its use:

- (93) *is apan aen am tas imi tosei*
 PAST *go he SEQ speak* DAT *Tosei*
'He will go and speak to (i.e. have words with) Tosei'

Instrumental

The ubiquitous *a* functions also as an instrumental-marker:

- (94) *et atgii pikad aen a-npas*
 3SG:AOR *kill pig he* INS-*axe*
'He killed the pig with an axe'
- ek pu atgii pikad añaak a nevitai?*
 1SG:AOR FUT *kill pig I* INS *what*
'What will I kill the pig with?'

Referential

Again, *a* is used:

- (95) *is apan aen m-amjeg m-amjegacen a nesgi*
 PAST *go he ES-sleep ES-dream* ABOUT *school*
'He went to sleep and dreamt about school'
- inyubal a n-alañaheni*
story ABOUT NOM-*pray*
'A story about religion/Christianity'

Comitative

Comitative phrases are introduced by *pan* followed by the locative preposition *a*:

- (96) ... *am lep udei-yin pan ira-i atimi is amen m-amenjinai-yin*
 ... SEQ again leave-him COM LOC-CONS persons PAST stay ES-look:after him
 'And again they left him with the people who were looking after him'
 is bar ciñ aen pan a nabun ira-n
 PAST then eat he COM LOC crust LOC-its
 'He then ate it with the crust on it'

Causative/purposive

Causative phrases are introduced by *va-*, whose other uses will be discussed in section 5 on sentence structure.

- (97) *et meret aen va-i sikaret*
 3SG:AOR want he CAUS-CONS cigarette
 'He wants a cigarette'
et adia va-nhe?
 3SG:AOR go:away CAUS-what
 'Why did he go away?'

4. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Anejom clauses contain at most only one verb (although noun phrases which contain a numeral or an adjective preceded by STM particles will not be treated here as containing a clause). In this section we examine firstly verbless clauses. Following this, the basic arrangement of subject, verb, and object in intransitive and transitive clauses is discussed. This in turn is followed by a brief discussion of the syntax of other phrase types.

4.1. Verbless clauses

I have not elicited any verbless clauses (unless the last clause of the text in section 6 qualifies as a verbless clause). Equational clauses are basically intransitive verbal clauses, and use STM or tense/aspect particles:

- (98) *et uñak intal*
 3SG:AOR taro
 'The taro is mine', 'It's my taro'
 is atimi-alañaheni aen
 PAST person-pray he
 'He was a pastor/preacher'
 ... *jai top inla u atua*
 ... but just light POSS god
 '... but it was just the light of God'
 wat nepeñ, ...
 TEMP night
 'When it was night, ...'

Capell, however, states that

there is one equational sentence type which can dispense with the predicate. This reverses the normal order predicate-subject, so that it is satisfactory to treat it as a subject with a zero predicate before it. There is also a slight difference in stress and intonation pattern. In such an utterance as *natimared iyihki*, 'this chief', the demonstrative follows the noun as usual. However, *natimared iyihki* may also be 'this is the chief', but then the stress on *-ma-* is stronger than in the descriptive phrase, and the tone (?) on *iyihki* falls rather more sharply to sentence-final. While, therefore, this type of utterance is grammatically only a phrase, syntactically it is a complete utterance, and must be regarded as the one exceptional type in the language. ... There is another ambiguous instance also, i.e. *aek di aŋki?* 'who are you?', lit.

aek di aŋki
you who this:one

Here there is the same reversal of normal order, but the type appears to be limited to the interrogative equational sentence type (C:8).

4.2. Basic verbal clause structure

In this section we examine the ordering of subject, verb, and object in intransitive and transitive clauses.

4.2.1. Intransitive clauses

The preferred order in intransitive clauses is verb + subject. Nominal subjects are preceded by the subject-marker *a*; pronominal subjects already have this *a* accreted to the pronominal stem (cf. 2.1.). Examples:

- (99) *et ʔan apam a kuri*
3SG:AOR PF come SM dog
'The dog has come'
- ek pu hag aŋak*
1SG:AOR FUT eat I
'I will eat'
- et albas a pikad*
3SG:AOR big SM pig
'The pig is big', 'The pig is getting big'

The order verb + subject is found in virtually every intransitive clause elicited so far. Only a very few cases of subject + verb have been elicited, and even one of these shows repetition of a pronominal subject in postverbal position:

- (100) *nejhe-n is upnii asga*
tooth-his PAST good all
'His teeth were all good'

n-omrag iyi is itiyi imehe aen
 NOM-old PREF PAST NEG sick he
'This old man wasn't sick'

4.2.2. Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses, the preferred order is verb + object + subject. Again, *a* marks the subject noun phrase, and *a*-initial focal pronouns are used as subject. Object pronouns are suffixed to verbs. Examples:

- (101) et Man ciñ wametec a pikad
 3SG:AOR PF eat sweet:potato SM pig
'The pig has eaten the sweet potato'
- et awod kuri aen
 3SG:AOR hit dog he
'He is hitting the dog'
- et egei-ñak a deto
 3SG:AOR hear-me SM Deto
'Deto heard me'
- et acan numu a natimi ina
 3SG:AOR spear fish SM man DEIC:SG:MID
'That man speared a fish'

The order object + verb + subject, as a variant of the normal order, has been found in some questions when the object is the focus of the question. Compare the following pairs of sentences below:

- (102) na ecet nev-atimi aek?
 2SG:AOR see which-man you:SG
 nev-atimi yi na ecta-ai aek?
 which-man PREF 2SG:AOR see-TRANS you:SG
'Which man did you (sg) see?'
- (103) et awod neve-kuri aen?
 3SG:AOR hit which-dog he
 neve-kuri yi et awod aen?
 which-dog PREF 3SG:AOR hit he
'Which dog did he hit?'

Capell also notes that the order verb + subject + object is possible if the object is lengthy, and gives the following example (C:17):

- (104) na asañ aek intas itiyi ahajeg inef?
 2SG:AOR speak you:SG word NEG understand this
'Did you (sg) speak this incomprehensible word?'

The only examples so far elicited of ditransitive clauses are with the verb 'give' and pronoun indirect objects. In these cases, the pronoun is suffixed to the verb and the direct object follows in normal position:

- (105) ek pu alba-c nawutoga añak
 1SG:AOR FUT give-you:SG knife I
'I will give you (sg) a knife'

I have no data on the behaviour of nominal indirect objects.

4.3. Expanded clauses

Generally, other kinds of phrases follow verb + object in intransitive clauses, and verb + object + subject in transitive clauses. Examples:

- (106) is wat alaujhu aara a nuyaleg, ...
 PAST TEMP go:out they:PL LOC morning, ...
'When they (pl) went out in the morning, ...'
- ... am asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i niom
 ... SEQ lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS house
'... and the old man was lying inside the house'
- na man awod natimi aek iyenev
 2SG:AOR PF hit man you:SG yesterday
'You (sg) hit the man yesterday'
- et apan aen vila ehele-i inhal uwun
 3SG:AOR go he Vila DAT-CONS son POSS:his
'He went to Vila to his son'

In some cases, however, the subject may be moved to sentence-final position after prepositional phrases:

- (107) is ettet ira-i pikad a nataman
 PAST meet LOC-CONS pig SM man
'The man met up with a pig'
- nev-elcau yi et atga ira-n aen?
 which-canoe PREF 3SG:AOR travel LOC-its he
'Which canoe did he go on?'
- et tas imta-k a tosei
 3SG:AOR talk DAT-my SM Tosei
'Tosei spoke to me'

As in most languages, temporal phrases often occur in sentence-initial rather than postverbal position:

- (108) nouban ina is lep ati n-imehe
 time that PAST also not:be NOM-sick
'At that time also, there was no sickness'
- jai inpiñ era itiyi atou akaja mika ...
 but today NSG:AOR NEG know we:INC:PL that ...
'But today, we (pl.inc) don't know whether ...'

Oddly enough, however, the interrogative temporal phrase a nouban *'when?'* is apparently not permitted to occur in sentence-initial position:

- (109) is apan aen a nouban?
 PAST go he LOC time
'When did he go?'
- *a nouban is apan aen?
 LOC time PAST go he

5. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

5.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences contain only one verb (although sentences containing noun phrases which include an STM particle plus adjective or numeral will also be classed as simple). This section examines sentence-types in Anejom – statements, commands, and questions. Naturally, an explanation of these types of simple sentences also applies to complex sentences; but the discussion on complex sentences in 5.2. focusses more on their internal structure than their function.

5.1.1. Statements

Numerous examples of statements in Anejom have been given in earlier pages, and there is little to be added here. While questions and commands are usually overtly marked in some specific way, statements are unmarked sentences.

5.1.2. Commands

The discussion on commands will be divided into sections on affirmative and negative commands.

Affirmative

In affirmative commands, the STM particles do not appear; the subject pronoun, however, is almost always present. Examples:

- (110) hag aek
eat you:SG
'Eat! (singular subject)'
- ayo aek im-hag
come you:SG ES-eat
'Come and eat! (singular subject)'
- awod pikad ajowa
hit pig you:PL
'Beat the pig! (plural subject)'

Commands given to a non-second person usually involve the imperative of the verb udei 'leave, let', followed by a verb marked by subjunctive STM particles:

- (111) udei-yin yi hag aen
let-him 3SG:SUBJ eat he
'Let him eat'
- udei-ñak ki apan añak
let-me 1SG:SUBJ go I
'Let me go'

Negative

Negative commands show a preverbal particle *jim*:

- (112) *jim hag aek*
 NEG:IMP *eat you:SG*
'Don't eat! (singular subject)'
- jim udei-yin yi hag aen*
 NEG:IMP *let-him 3SG:SUBJ eat he*
'Don't let him eat'

5.1.3. Questions

Yes-no questions

Questions demanding confirmation or denial may be encoded in two ways. First, a simple statement with final rising rather than falling intonation constitutes a question:

- (113) *is apam aen a nepeŋ?*
 PAST *come he LOC night*
'Did he come in the night?'

Second, a statement becomes a question when the clause is followed by *ka a'o* 'or not', often abbreviated as *ka'o*:

- (114) *is apam aen a nepeŋ ka a'o?*
 PAST *come he LOC night or not*
'Did he come in the night (or not)?'

Information questions

Information questions require the use of special interrogative bases. The locational interrogative *eda* 'where?' and the temporal interrogative *a nouban* 'when?' have already been discussed in other contexts (3.3., 4.3), and are briefly illustrated again here:

- (115) *na amen aek eda?*
 2SG:AOR *stay you:SG where*
'Where do you (sg) live?'
- is adia aen a nouban?*
 PAST *go:away he LOC time*
'When did he go away?'
- et pu adia aen a nouban?*
 3SG:AOR FUT *go:away he LOC time*
'When will he go away?'

In addition, the use of the interrogative prefix *neve-* was discussed above in 2.2.3. and 4.2.

A number of the other interrogative bases function as nouns. These include:¹³

- (116) *di* 'who?'
di imna 'who (non-singular)?'

nevitai	'what?' (cf. neve- + nitai 'thing')
inhe	'what?'
va-nhe	'why?'
va nevitai	'why?'

Examples:

- (117) et atgii pikad a di?
 3SG:AOR kill pig SM who
 'Who killed the pig?'
 et aces di a pikad?
 3SG:AOR bite who SM pig
 'Whom did the pig bite?'
 et attii incaï u di aen?
 3SG:AOR cut:down tree POSS who he
 'Whose tree did he cut down?'
 et ciñ inhe aen?
 3SG:AOR eat what he
 'What is he eating?'
 is atgii pikad a nataññ ina a nevitai?
 PAST kill pig SM man that INS what
 'What did that man kill the pig with?'
 et adia aen va-nhe?
 3SG:AOR go:away he CAUS-what
 'Why did he go away?'

The remaining interrogatives function as heads of verb phrases. These include:

- (118) echa 'why?'
 ehed 'how many?'
 awuri 'to do what?'

Examples:

- (119) et echa et bar aces-yic a pikad?
 3SG:AOR why 3SG:AOR then bite-you:SG SM pig
 'Why did the pig bite you (sg)?'
 era apam a natimi et ehed?
 NSG:AOR come SM person 3SG:AOR how:many
 'How many people came?'
 et ika aen yi awuri?
 3SG:AOR say he 3SG:SUBJ do:what
 'What does he want to do?'

Finally, the (verbal?) form owo nev was observed translating the English interrogative 'how?':

- (120) et owo nev adia aen?
 3SG:AOR how which(?) go:away he
 'How did he leave?'

5.2. Complex Sentences

The amount and quality of data available on various complex sentence types are quite variable. In this section, I look first at various kinds of coordination, and then at a number of cases involving subordination.

5.2.1. Coordinate clauses

There is a considerable amount of data on sequential action and relativisation (which in Anejom is expressed by coordination), but not nearly so much on disjunction and alternation.

Sequential action

When the subjects of the two clauses are different, the two clauses may be joined by the connective *jai*, and the verb in the second clause will normally contain at least one of the aspect markers *am* 'sequential action', *lep* 'also, again', or *bar* 'then, next'. A few sentences have been elicited where the STM marker has been deleted from the second clause, but generally these are retained. Examples:

- (121) *is man upcii apam aen jai is bar amjeg aʔak*
 PAST PF *first come he and* PAST *then sleep I*
'He came and then I slept'
- is ecet deto a tosei is am lav aen*
 PAST *see Deto SM Tosei* PAST SEQ *laugh he*
'Tosei saw Deto and then she (Deto) laughed'
- is ect-ai pikad a natamaʔ is am athut m-adia*
 PAST *see-TRANS pig SM man* PAST SEQ *run ES-go:away*
'The man saw the pig and it ran away'
- et acan numu aen am acan nahou aʔak*
 3SG:AOR *spear fish he* SEQ *spear turtle I*
'He speared a fish and I speared a turtle'

When the subjects of both clauses are the same, similar structures to those discussed above may be used. In these cases, however, the STM particles on the second verb seem to be almost invariably omitted, and the subject of the second clause is also normally deleted:

- (122) *ek pu hag aʔak jai bar amjeg*
 1SG:AOR FUT *eat I and then sleep*
'I will eat and then sleep'
- et man apam a pikad am hag*
 3SG:AOR PF *come SM pig* SEQ *eat*
'The pig came and ate'
- is ecet deto a tosei am lav*
 PAST *see Deto SM Tosei* SEQ *laugh*
'Tosei saw Deto and laughed'

Compare especially this last example in (122) with the second example in (121) to see the difference between the two types.

However, when the subjects of both clauses are the same, there is another structural option. This involves the use of the echo-subject marker *m-* which is prefixed to the first morpheme in the verb phrase; if this morpheme is consonant-initial, *m-* becomes *im-*.¹⁴ STM and aspect particles may not be used in the verb phrase when *m-* is used. It appears that *m-* is most commonly used when the preceding verb is one of motion, although in a number of examples which I have elicited the type with *m-* may occur in apparent free variation with the type described above. The examples below are all taken from the text in section 6.

- (123) *apan aara m-aihec-vai-yin im-taŋ ira-n*
go they:PL ES-greet-CAUS(?) -him ES-cry LOC-his
'They (pl) went to farewell him and to cry over him'
- wat nepeŋ amen aara am ecet inla iyi is*
 TEMP night stay they:PL SEQ see light PREF PAST
- asuol asuol m-apan im-taujai ira-i n-omrag iyi*
descend descend ES-go ES-touch LOC-CONS NOM-old PREF
'When it was night they stayed and saw that light coming down, and it went and touched that old man'
- is man omrag upnii aen m-itiyi atou m-atga-sjipe*
 PAST PF old good he ES-NEG know ES-walk-about
'He was very old and wasn't able to walk about'
- is itiyi imehe aen jai m-amen m-ajgan nouban mas*
 PAST NEG sick he and ES-stay ES-wait:for time die
'He wasn't sick, he was just waiting for the time to die'

Relativisation

Relativisation in Anejom does not involve any specific marking of the relative clause. Rather, the relative clause is simply appended to the main clause:

- (124) *ek atou natimi iyi aŋak na awod aek iyenev*
 1SG:AOR know person PREF I 2SG:AOR hit you:SG yesterday
'I know the person whom you (sg) hit yesterday'
- et man apan vila a natimi iyi is hegei tal*
 3SG:AOR PF go Vila SM person PREF PAST eat:up PL:taro
uŋak a pikad uwun
 POSS:my SM pig POSS:his
'The man whose pig ate up my taro has gone to Vila'

Other types of coordination

Alternation involves the use of the conjunction *ka* 'or', which was discussed above with reference to yes-no questions (section 5.1.3.). Disjunction involves the use of the conjunction *jam* 'but', which is illustrated in the following sentence taken from Capell's MS:

- (125) et pu itiyi mas aen jam umu
 3SG:AOR FUT NEG *die he but live*
'He will not die, but will live'

5.2.2. Subordination

A number of different types of subordination for which data are available will be discussed briefly below:

Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses use the aspect markers *wat* in the past and *wut* in the future, along with the regular STM particles (which, however, are often deleted in discourse, as will be pointed out in 5.4. below). Examples:

- (126) wut amen ajowa wut nadiat-atumop wut alaŋaheni
 TEMP:FUT *stay you:PL* TEMP:FUT *day-rest* TEMP:FUT *pray*
ajowa a nuyaleg wat alaujhu mān apam m-aihec-vai-ŋak
you:PL LOC morning TEMP go:out PF come ES-greet-CAUS(?) -me
'When you are there praying on Sunday morning, and when you have
come out (from Church), then you must come and farewell me'
 is wat yetpan a nouban ina is wat alaujhu aara
 PAST TEMP *arrive SM time that* PAST TEMP *go:out they:PL*
a nuyaleg, mān ajujai natimi asga ehele-n
LOC morning, PF go:east person all DAT-his
'When the time arrived, and when they had come out (of Church)
in the morning, then all the people went east to see him'

Conditions

Conditions were apparently expressed by the particle *elet*,¹⁵ optionally followed by *wut* or *wat*. Example:

- (127) elet wut apam aen, na pu ecet-yin aek
 COND TEMP:FUT *come he, 2SG:AOR FUT see-him you:SG*
'If he comes, you (sg) will see him'

According to informants, however, this is a style of speech now used only by old people, and is thus apparently dying out. In the modern language, conditions tend to have one of the following structures:

- (a) STM particle + *wut* or *wat*, which means that this type of conditional clause is indistinguishable from the temporal clause:
- (128) ek wut itiyi apan anejom aŋak, ek pu itiyi ecet-yic
 1SG:AOR TEMP:FUT *go Aneityum I, 1SG:AOR FUT NEG see-you:SG*
'If I don't go to Aneityum, I won't see you (sg)'
 et wat ehe iyenev, ek amen a nemnem
 1SG:AOR TEMP *rain yesterday, 1SG:AOR stay LOC home*
'If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed at home'

(b) elet + condition, elet + main clause. It may be coincidental that the only examples I have of this structure are with negative conditions:¹⁶

(129) elet itiyi apam uwun iyenev, elet bar top
COND NEG come POSS:his yesterday, COND then just

amen a nemnem akaja
stay LOC home we:INC:PL

'If he hadn't come yesterday, we (inc.pl.) would have just stayed at home'

(c) The most common modern structure, however, involves the use of wut or wat, optionally preceded by the STM particles, and followed by the verb ika 'say, want'; the verb of the actual condition follows this clause, and it normally takes subjunctive STM particles. Examples:

(130) et wut ika aen yi apam, na pu ecet-yin aek
3SG:AOR TEMP:FUT say he 3SG:SUBJ come, 2SG:AOR FUT see-him you:SG
'If he comes, you (sg) will see him'

et wut ika et idim itiyi ehe iyenev, ek
3SG:AOR TEMP:FUT say 3SG:AOR ASSERT NEG rain yesterday, 1SG:AOR

pu idim apan m-asjaña
FUT ASSERT go ES-fish

'If it didn't rain yesterday, I would have gone fishing'

Quotations

Quotative sentences involve the quotative verb ika with no introductory particle before the quotation:

(131) kis ika añaak, "ek pu apam imrañ"
1SG:PAST say I, "1SG:AOR FUT come tomorrow"
'I said, "I will come tomorrow"'
is ika a jon, "ek pu apan añaak imrañ"
PAST say SM John, "1SG:AOR FUT go I tomorrow"
'John said, "I will go tomorrow"'

Compare these examples of direct speech with similar examples of reported speech:

(132) kis ika añaak kis pu apam imrañ
1SG:PAST say I 1SG:PAST FUT come tomorrow
'I said I would come tomorrow'
is ika a jon is pu apan imrañ
PAST say SM John PAST FUT go tomorrow
'John said he (John) would go tomorrow'
is ika a jon kis pu apan añaak imrañ
PAST say SM John 1SG:PAST FUT go I tomorrow
'John said I would go tomorrow'

Complementation

This discussion of quotative sentences leads naturally into a treatment of complementation, and it can be seen from the examples above that quotative complements do not require any introductory conjunction. Most other complements, however, require a conjunction or nominalisation of the verb.

The conjunction which introduces complements is *mika*, which is presumably (historically, at least) echo-subject marker *m-* + *ika* 'say, want'. The verb in the complement takes regular STM markers: aorist or past if the complement is realis (e.g. after 'know', 'hear', etc.), subjunctive if the complement is irrealis (e.g. after 'want', etc.). Examples:

- (133) *ek atou aʔak mika et ʔan apam a natimi ina*
 1SG:AOR know I that 3SG:AOR PF come SM man that
 'I know that that man has come'
- ek egei aʔak mika is ʔan apam a etma-m vila*
 1SG:AOR hear I that PAST PF go SM father-your:SG Vila
 'I heard that your (sg) father had gone to Vila'
- ek meret aʔak mika yi apam aen imraʔ*
 1SG:AOR want I that 3SG:SUBJ come he tomorrow
 'I want him to come tomorrow'
- et meret aen mika ki apam aʔak iyenev*
 3SG:AOR want he that 1SG:SUBJ come I yesterday
 'He wanted me to come yesterday'

Nominalisation of the verb in the complement clause is another alternative method of expressing complements; this is used particularly, though not solely, when the subjects of both clauses are the same. Nominalisation involves prefixation of *n-* and suffixation of *-vaʔ*, which has some (as yet to me unclear) relationship with the causative preposition *va*. Examples:

- (134) *ek meret aʔak n-apam-vaʔ imraʔ*
 1SG:AOR want I NOM-come-NOM tomorrow
 'I want to come tomorrow'
- ek itiyi meret aʔak n-apam-vaʔ aen imraʔ*
 1SG:AOR NEG want I NOM-come-NOM he tomorrow
 'I don't want him to come tomorrow'

Result

Result clauses are introduced by *vaʔ-ni* 'because'.

- (135) *et aces-ʔak a pikad vaʔ-ni ek asjii-yin aʔak a-nhat*
 3SG:AOR bite-me SM pig because 1SG:AOR shoot-him I INS-stone
 'The pig bit me because I threw a stone at him'
- is apam aen vila vaʔ-ni is imehe aen*
 PAST go he Vila because PAST sick he
 'He went to Vila because he was sick'

5.3. Locative sentences

In addition to regular sentences containing locative phrases, as exemplified in 3.3.1. above, Anejom possesses another type of locative sentence whose grammar is quite different. No mention of this type is made by Capell or by Inglis (1882); here I merely present the data, since I am unable to satisfactorily analyse these sentences.

In this type of locative sentence, the verb is preceded by a (STM?) particle *elañ* (glossed here as LOC:STM), and is followed by one of two deictics: the near deictic *ni*, indicating the closeness of the subject to the speaker, or the mid deictic *na*, indicating that the subject is at some distance from the speaker. The underlying subject of the sentence appears in the alienable possessive form. Some examples:

- (136) *elañ apan ni uñak a nauritai*
 LOC:STM go DEIC:NR POSS:my LOC garden
'I am going to the garden'
- elañ apan ni uñak im-hag*
 LOC:STM go DEIC:NR POSS:my ES-eat
'I am going to eat'
- elañ hag ni uñak*
 LOC:STM eat DEIC:NR POSS:my
'I am going to eat'
- elañ apan na u nataññañ ina vila*
 LOC:STM go DEIC:MID POSS:man that Vila
'That man is going to Vila'
- elañ apan ni u nataññañ ina vila*
 LOC:STM go DEIC:NR POSS:man that Vila
'That man (near me) is going to Vila'

The marker *elañ* may occur, with the same type of construction, with heads of verb phrases which are not verbs:

- (137) *elañ eda na uwun?*
 LOC:STM where DEIC:MID POSS:his
'Where is he going'
- elañ ehele-k na uwun*
 LOC:STM DAT-my DEIC:MID POSS:his
'He is coming towards me'

In one case, in a negative conditional, a similar construction was elicited; however, the marker *elañ* was replaced by the conditional marker *elet*, and the deictic was not present. The full example is given as (129) above; I repeat here only the condition:

- (138) *elet itiyi apam uwun iyenev ...*
 COND NEG come POSS:his yesterday, ...
'If he hadn't come yesterday, ...'

Two factors suggest that these sentences should be treated as nominalisations: the presence of the deictics following the verbs, and the use of alienable possession to express the underlying subject. Against that interpretation, however, must be put the fact that the verbs in each case are not themselves nominalised: there is no *n-* prefix or *-vañ* suffix. The marker *elañ* does not appear in either Inglis' or Capell's grammar sketches, and while it bears some resemblance phonologically to the sequence *el* as reported by Inglis, this sequence is in fact *el* 'conditional' + an 'second person singular subject prefix', which appears to have little to do at least with the semantics of the sentences in (136) and (137). I present this data without analysis, then, since it appears to be an interesting aspect of Anejom grammar and one which clearly requires further research.

A second type of locative sentence is even less well understood. Consider the following examples:

- (139) yek aen et etec a nemnem
 3SG:LOC *he* 3SG:AOR *stay* LOC *home*
'He is at home'

yek aen a nauritai
 3SG:LOC *she* LOC *garden*
'She is in the garden'

*et yek aen a nauritai
 3SG:AOR 3SG:LOC *she* LOC *garden*

Capell (C:20) gives the following example:

- (140) etwa-m yek eda?
brother-your:SG 3SG:LOC *where*
'Where is your (sg) brother?'

In this example, "the particle yek marks the third singular equation, like ap and ak for first and 2nd persons respectively". We find (C:9) the following examples of these latter particles:

- (141) aek ak eda?
you:SG 2SG:LOC *where*
'Where are you (sg)?'

añak ap anki
I 1SG:LOC *this*
'Here I am'

It is clear that ap, ak, and yek (a) cannot be preceded by the regular STM particles, and yet (b) function in some way as verbs in locative sentences. This remains a topic for further investigation.

5.4. Subject-marking in discourse

As may have already become obvious from a number of the examples given above, the rules for subject-marking, especially though not only in connected discourse, admit of some variation. The following possibilities should be noted:

- (a) In cases where the basic tense is obvious from the context, and the person and number of the subject is clear from an overt pronominal or nominal subject, the STM particles may be omitted. Thus, *in context*, both sentences in (142) are acceptable:
- (142) ek attii incai añak iyenev
 1SG:AOR *cut:down tree I yesterday*
'I cut down the tree yesterday'
- attii incai añak iyenev
cut:down tree I yesterday
'I cut down the tree yesterday'
- (b) Conversely, a pronominal subject may be deleted if its person and number are adequately marked by an STM particle, and if the subject is recoverable from context. Thus again, (143) would be an acceptable version, in context, of the examples given in (142):

(143) ek attii incai iyenev

1SG:AOR cut:down tree yesterday
'I cut down the tree yesterday'

(c) Thirdly, there are a few cases where the nominal subject, especially of an intransitive clause, is not preceded by the subject-marker a. Again, the important point seems to be that a may be omitted only if confusion would not result. Example:

(144) et man apam pikad im-cif wametec

3SG:AOR PF come pig ES-eat sweet:potato
'The pig came and ate the sweet potato'

These points should be kept in mind when the text in the next section is examined.

6. TEXT

The text given below tells the story of the early Aneityumese Christians. It was told to me in Port Moresby by Deto Wima. The text is given first morpheme-by-morpheme in Anejom with interlinear English morpheme glosses, and this is followed by a fairly free English translation.

nuyaleg upnii John. ek meret affak mika ki asaŋ yubal
morning good John. 1SG:AOR want I that 1SG:SUBJ tell story
ehel-om a nuyaleg ini. et epjedepjed inyubal ini, inyubal a
DAT-your:SG LOC morning this. 3SG:AOR short story this, story ABOUT
n-alaŋaheni a-nrijai ira-n Anejom itwuacen. Maya, itwuacen is wat
NOM-pray ABOUT-arrival LOC-its Aneityum long:ago. yes, long:ago PAST TEMP
top am rijai n-alaŋaheni Anejom is ecvan upnii n-imyisjis n-invijic
just SEQ arrive NOM-pray Aneityum PAST strong good NOM-believe NOM-true
u atimi ehele-i atua. is lep amen upnii natimi am amen upra.
POSS PL:person DAT-CONS god. PAST also stay good person SEQ stay long.
is ago-ra n-imyisjis n-invijic ehele-i atua is atou nouban ineŋ
PAST make-them:PL NOM-believe NOM-true DAT-CONS god PAST know time this
aara is pu tii ira-n.
they:PL PAST FUT no:longer LOG-its.

Maya, is amen a n-omrag is ithii Ahajom, jai is atimi-alaŋaheni
yes, PAST stay SM NOM-old PAST one Ahajom, but PAST person-pray
aen am amen niom-asvitai. is amen aen n-omrag upnii. is amen natimi
he SEQ stay house-PL:book. PAST stay he NOM-old good. PAST stay person
m-amenjinai-yin. nouban ina is lep ati n-imehe, m-itiyi imehe
ES-look:after-him. time that PAST also be:not NOM-sick, ES-NEG sick
natimi m-amen m-omrag upnii ja bar emesmas. Maya, n-omrag iyi is itiyi
person ES-stay ES-old good but then PL:die. yes, NOM-old PREF PAST NEG
imehe aen. nejhe-n is upnii asga. is wat ika aen yi hag jam
sick he. tooth-his PAST good all. PAST TEMP want he 3SG:SUBJ eat so
aviŋ intal ineŋ is ahen aced is cascascas jai is bar cif aen pan
want:eat taro this PAST roast scrape PAST crisp but PAST then eat he COM

a nabun ira-n. m-amen aen jam imyimin alafaheni wat atga-sjipe
 LOC crust LOC-its. ES-stay he so repeatedly pray TEMP walk-back:and:forth
 natimi a nepeñ wat elad-pan a niom uwun jam ectai is atau-naju
 person LOC night TEMP look-to LOC house POSS:his so see:TRANS PAST illuminated
 ira-n, fan la ira-i bensin lam edecvañ. maya, jai top inla u
 LOC-its, like light LOC-CONS benzene lamp like:it. yes, but just light POSS
 atua yi amen aen wat yetpan a nouban ini is ika yi tii
 god 3SG:SUBJ stay he TEMP arrive SM time that PAST want 3SG:SUBJ no:longer
 am aprañ-se intas Umej mika 'wut amen ajowa wut nadiat-atumop
 SEQ send-down word Umej that "TEMP:FUT stay you:PL TEMP:FUT day-rest
 wut alafaheni ajowa a nuyaleg wat alaujhu man apam m-aihec-va-flak".
 TEMP:FUT pray you:PL LOC morning TEMP come:out PF come ES-greet-CAUS(?) -me".
 maya, is wat yetpan a nouban ina is wat alaujhu aara a nuyaleg,
 yes, PAST TEMP arrive SM time that PAST TEMP come:out they:PL LOC morning,
 man ajujai natimi asga ehele-n. apan aara m-aihec-vai-yin im-tañ
 PF go:east person all DAT-his. go they:PL ES-greet-CAUS(?) -him ES-cry
 ira-n is itiyi fi mas aen jai n-evañ yi mika is aihec-vai-yin
 LOC-his PAST NEG yet die he but NOM-show 3SG:SUBJ that PAST greet-CAUS(?) -him
 aara am atou aara mika mu itiyi lep ecet-yin. maya, wat ago
 they:PL SEQ know they:PL that FUT/HOR NEG again see-him. yes, TEMP do
 ini pan aara am lep udei-yin pan ira-i atimi is amen
 this ? they:PL SEQ again leave-him COM LOC-CONS PL:person PAST stay
 m-amenjinai-yin. wat nepeñ amen aara am ecet inla iyi is asuol,
 ES-look:after-him. TEMP night stay they:PL SEQ see light PREF PAST descend,
 asuol m-apan im-taujai ira-i n-omrag iyi wat tii-pan wat
 descend ES-go ES-touch LOC-CONS NOM-old PREF TEMP no:longer-there TEMP
 etcei-pan-yin a ilpu-atimi-amenjinai-yin is man ahiwiu aen, man mas aen.
 feel-there-him SM HUM:PL-person-look:after-him PAST PF cold he, PF die he.
 maya, is lep amen n-omrag is echei is lep ici aen, is amen
 yes, PAST also stay NOM-old PAST another PAST also thus he, PAST stay
 aen eitei Anouyac, is lep ici aen, is omrag upnii aen, is lep amen
 he at(?) Anouyac, PAST also thus he, PAST old good he, PAST also stay
 natimi m-amenjinai-yin. is man omrag upnii aen m-itiyi atou m-atga-sjipe.
 person ES-look:after-him. PAST PF old good he ES-NEG know ES-walk-back:and:
 forth.
 jai is itiyi imehe aen jai m-amen m-ajgan nouban mas. amen aara wat
 but PAST NEG sick he but ES-stay ES-wait:for time die. stay they:PL TEMP
 yetpan a nouban is ithii is man atou aen mika mu ude-ra. amen
 arrive SM time PAST one PAST PF know he that FUT/HOR leave-them:PL. stay
 a tijiraki is amen m-amenjinai-yin ijhou m-atec im-yubal am
 SM three:people PAST stay ES-look:after-him outside ES-sit ES-tell:story SEQ
 asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i niom. (ek lep anag a nida-ra
 lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS house. (1SG:AOR also forget ABOUT name-their:PL
 añak jai et am apan inyubal ini m-ici). asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i
 I but 3SG:AOR SEQ go story this ES-thus). lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS

niom jai nepeñ yi am ege-yin attaj is amen aen im-tas. rectidai attaj
house but night PREF SEQ hear-him they:TR PAST stay he ES-talk. get:up they:TR

m-athut m-apan a-nlii-i niom, am ika is ithii, 'n-omrag, nevitai yi
ES-run ES-go LOC-inside-CONS house, SEQ say PAST one, "NOM-old, what PREF

na amen aek m-asañ?" is am ika aen, 'a'o, era amen akaja
2SG:AOR stay you:SG ES-say?" PAST SEQ say he, "no, NSG:AOR stay we:INC:PL

m-apan u n-alañaheni et amen a natimi-n-alañaheni m-ika et etec
ES-go LOC NOM-pray 3SG:AOR stay SM person-NOM-pray ES-say 3SG:AOR be

inpeke-upnii am etec ipeke-has. jai inpiñ era itiyi atou akaja mika
place-good SEQ be place-bad. but today NSG:AOR NEG know we:INC:PL that

et invijic intas uwun aen ka et acil. jai amen akaja wut
3SG:AOR true word POSS:his he or 3SG:AOR false. but stay we:INC:PL TEMP:FUT

ika añak ki udei-coutaj ka cowa mu top elad-jai ajoutaj
want I 1SG:SUBJ leave-you:TR or you:PL FUT/HOR just look-east you:TR

a-nretjai uwun inworen ineñ et retjai inñojev-a-nuyaleg ira-n.
LOC-rising POSS:its place this 3SG:AOR rise star-LOC-morning LOC-its.

wut ika ajoutaj ri ecet inla y-asuol, mu imysijis
TEMP:FUT say you:TR NSG:SUBJ see light 3SG:SUBJ-descend, FUT/HOR believe

n-invijic ajoutaj mika et invijic et etec inpeke-upnii im inpeke-has".
NOM-true you:TR that 3SG:AOR true 3SG:AOR be place-good and place-bad".

Maya, amen aara lep adia a tijiraki m-alaujhu m-amen ijhou
yes, stay they:PL again go:out SM three:people ES-go:out ES-stay outside

lep atec im-yubal m-asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i niom. m-amen is
again sit ES-tell:story ES-lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS house. ES-stay PAST

Man lep ege-yin attaj is lep aketo aen im-tas. is Man lep
PF again hear-him they:TR PAST again repeat he ES-talk. PAST PF again

rectidai attaj apan a-nlii-i niom m-ahoda-n mika, 'n-omrag, nevitai
get:up they:TR. go LOC-inside-CONS house ES-ask-him that, "NOM-old, what

yi na amen aek m-asañ?". is am ika aen, 'wu, ek asjec añak
PREF 2SG:AOR stay you:SG ES-say?". PAST SEQ say he, "oh, 1SG:AOR lie I

am ecet-yin natimi et erou era apam aarou. rai-ham aarou
SEQ see-it person 3SG:AOR two NSG:AOR come they:DU. NSG:AOR-arrive they:DU

m-aso-rau ira-i apelma-ahie am abos apelma-ahie. era
ES-dress-them:DU LOC-CONS PL:clothes-white SEQ carry PL:clothes-white. NSG:AOR

apam aarou m-aji ehele-k m-ika wut lep apam a nithut-u-nadiat Man
come they:DU ES-stand DAT-my ES-say TEMP:FUT again come LOC dawn-POSS-day PF

le-flak mu adia ajamtaj".
take-me FUT/HOR go:away we:EXC:TR".

Maya, is Man lep ude-n a tijiraki m-alaujhu m-amen ijhou.
yes, PAST PF again leave-him SM three:people ES-go:out ES-stay outside.

is lep tii n-amjeg. amen attaj wat yetpan a nouban iyi et
PAST again no:longer NOM-sleep. stay they:TR TEMP arrive SM time PREF 3SG:AOR

asañ a n-omrag a nithut-u-nadiat, am ecet inla iyi is asuol-asuol
say SM NOM-old LOC dawn-POSS-day, SEQ see light PREF PAST descend-descend

a-nworen iyi is asaŋ a n-omrag asuol m-apam a-nman-nacoubun a niom
 LOC-place PREF PAST say SM NOM-old descend ES-come LOC-hole-chimney LOC house
 im-taujai a nipjinemta-n n-omrag iyi m-apam im-tii-pan a nupseduo-n
 ES-touch LOC forehead-his NOM-old PREF ES-come ES-no:longer-there LOC toe-his
 jai bar tii-pan. Maya, is wat apan a tijiraki a-nlii-i
 but next no:longer-there. yes, PAST TEMP go AM three:people LOC-inside-CONS
 niom wat etcei-pan n-omrag is Man ahiwiu aen is Man mas aen.
 house TEMP feel-there NOM-old PAST PF cold he PAST PF die he.

Maya, et Man inii inyubal ini ujou inkahe. ak
 yes, 3SG:AOR PF finish story this POSS:our:INC:DU here. you:SG(?)

John jai inyubal invijic ini.
 John but story true this.

Free translation

Good morning, John. I want to tell you a story this morning. It's a short story, about the arrival of Christianity on Aneityum long ago. Well, long ago, when Christianity had first arrived on Aneityum, people's belief in God was very strong. People lived well, and they lived long. And their faith in God allowed them to know when they were going to die.

There was an old man at Ahajom, and he was a religious man and had a library. He was very old, and some people were looking after him. At that time also there was no sickness, and people did not get sick but lived to a ripe old age and then died. Well, this old man wasn't sick. He had all his teeth. When he wanted to eat he roasted taro and scraped off the crisp bits and ate it with the crust still on. He prayed repeatedly, and anyone walking around at night could see that his house was all lit up, as if he had a benzene lamp; but this was the light of God. There came a time when he was ready to die, and he sent word down to Umej as follows: "When you go to church on Sunday morning, when you have come out, come and take leave of me". So the time came, and the people came out of church and went east to see him. They went and took leave of him and they cried over him; he hadn't yet died, but this was to show that they were farewelling him because they knew that they wouldn't see him again. So they did this and then left him again with the people who were looking after him. When night came they saw a light descending, and it came down and touched the old man and disappeared, and when the people looking after him felt him, he was cold - he was dead.

Well, there was another old man like this living at Anouyac; he was just like this, very old, and he also had people looking after him. He was so old that he couldn't walk about. But he wasn't sick, he was just waiting for his time to die. A time came when he knew that he was going to leave them. The three people looking after him were sitting outside telling stories, and the old man was lying inside the house. (I've also forgotten their names, but this is how the story goes.) The old man was lying inside the house, and that night they heard him talking. They got up and ran inside the house, and one of them said, "Old man, what were you saying in here?". He replied, "We go to church and the pastor says that there is a Heaven and a Hell. But today we don't know whether his words are true or false. We are here now, but when I leave you three or all of you just look towards the east where the morning-star rises. If you see a light descending, you can believe that there is a Heaven and a Hell".

Well, there they were; the three people went away and stayed outside and again sat round chatting, while the old man lay inside the house. And again they heard him talking. So again they got up and went inside the house and asked him, "Old man, what were you saying in here?". And he replied, "Oh, I was lying here and I saw two people coming. They came here dressed in white, and they carried white clothes. The two of them came and stood beside me and said that if they came again at dawn, they would take me with them".

So the three people left him again and went and stayed outside. But there was no more sleep. They stayed until the time the old man had spoken about, and at dawn they saw a light descending in the place he had talked about, and it came into the chimney of the house and touched the old man's forehead and disappeared, and then went to his toes and then disappeared. So the three people went inside the house, but when they felt the old man, he was cold — he was dead.

Well, that's the end of this story of ours; but, John, it's a true story.

Index of grammatical morphemes

Morpheme	Function	Section(s)
a	subject-marker	2.1., 4.2., 5.4.
a	locative preposition	3.3.1.
a	temporal phrase introducer	3.3.2.
a	instrumental preposition	3.3.3.
a	referential preposition	3.3.3.
a-	verb formative	2.3.3.
ak	2nd sg locative equational particle	5.3.
am	adverbial particle, sequential action	3.1.4., 5.2.1.
ap	1st sg locative equational particle	5.3.
bar	adverbial particle, 'next, then'	3.1.4., 5.2.1.
celed	numeral ligative	2.3.1.
ec-	multiplicative prefix	2.3.1., 2.3.4.
ehele-	dative preposition	3.3.1., 3.3.3.
eitei	locative marker	3.3.1.
ek	1st sg aorist STM particle	3.1.1.
ekra	non-sg aorist STM particle	3.1.1.
ekris	2nd & 3rd non-sg past STM particle	3.1.1.
elañ	locative STM particle	5.3.
elet	conditional particle	5.2.2.

Morpheme	Function	Section(s)
era	non-sg aorist STM particle	3.1.1.
et	3rd sg aorist STM particle	3.1.1.
etha-	locative preposition, 'under'	3.3.1.
fi	adverbial particle, 'not yet'	3.1.4.
-i	transitive suffix	2.3.5.
-i	possessive construct suffix	2.2.3., 3.2.2.
ici	adverbial particle, 'thus'	3.1.4.
idim	assertive particle	3.1.2.
ilpu-	human plural prefix	2.2.2.
im	conjunction 'and' joining noun phrases	3.2.3.
im-	= m-	5.2.1.
imi	dative preposition	3.3.3.
imta-	dative/benefactive preposition	3.3.3.
in-	= n-	2.2.1.
inca-	eat possessive morpheme	3.2.2.
inta-	instrumental nominaliser	2.2.1.
iñiyi	3rd sg subjunctive STM particle	3.1.1.
ira-	= a (locative)	3.3.1.
is	past STM particle	3.1.1.
itiyi	negative particle	3.1.3.
jai	conjunction 'and' joining clauses	5.2.1.
-jai	movement upward, eastward	2.3.5.
jam	conjunction 'but'	5.2.1.
jim	negative imperative particle	5.1.2.
ka	conjunction 'or'	5.2.1.
ka a'o	question-tag	5.1.3.
ki	1st sg subjunctive STM particle	3.1.1.
kis	1st sg and 1st inc non-sg past STM particle	3.1.1.
lep	adverbial particle, 'also, again'	3.1.4., 5.2.1.
luṃa-	drink possessive morpheme	3.2.2.
m-	echo-subject prefix	5.2.1.
mika	complement-introducer, 'that'	5.2.2.
mu	future/hortative particle	3.1.2.
ṃan	perfective particle	3.1.2.
n-	noun-marker, nominaliser	2.2.1, 5.2.2.
na	2nd sg aorist STM particle	3.1.1.

Morpheme	Function	Section(s)
natimi-	agentive nominaliser	2.2.1.
nei	= na	3.1.1.
neve-	interrogative prefix	2.2.3.
ni	2nd sg subjunctive STM particle	3.1.1.
niji-	plural prefix (inanimate?)	2.2.2.
nupu-	plural prefix (non-human animate?)	2.2.2.
-ŋ	transitive suffix	2.3.5.
-pam	movement towards speaker	2.3.5.
-pan	movement away from speaker	2.3.5.
pan a	comitative preposition	3.3.3.
-panki	movement away from speaker	2.3.5.
pu	future particle	3.1.2.
ra	2nd & 3rd non-sg subjunctive STM particle	3.1.1.
rai-	= era	3.1.1.
ri	non-sg subjunctive STM particle	3.1.1.
-se	movement downwards, westwards	2.3.5.
-sjipe	movement back and forth	2.3.5.
top	adverbial particle, ' <i>merely, just</i> '	3.1.4.
u	locative preposition	3.3.1.
u-	general alienable possessive morpheme	3.2.2.
upcii	adverbial particle, ' <i>first</i> '	3.1.4.
ura-	= u	3.3.1.
va-	causative preposition	3.3.3.
-vaŋ	nominaliser	5.2.2.
vaŋ-ni	conjunction ' <i>because</i> '	5.2.2.
wat	past temporal particle	3.1.2., 5.2.2.
wut	future temporal particle	3.1.2., 5.2.2.
yek	3rd sg locative equational particle	5.3.
yi	= iŋiyi	3.1.1.

Not included on this list are various forms of the pronouns, which are listed elsewhere (focal forms in (11), objective forms in (36), and possessive forms in (72 and (74)), and also the various deictics, listed in (45)-(48).

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Deto Wimaie and Thomas Niditauae for providing much of the data on which this paper was based; to the University of Papua New Guinea for research funds, and to that University and the Australian National University for assistance with a period of study leave during which this paper was written; and to Darrell Tryon and Don Laycock for comments on an earlier draft.
2. The traditional orthography either did not distinguish /p/ from /b/ or /m/ from /ṃ/, or else wrote the velarised labials as simple labials with a following u. The palatal nasal received various treatments in the orthography: n, ny, and ig (finally) were the most common. Hewitt (1966) uses ḃ and ṃ for the velarised labials.
3. Compare the dual suffix -rau with the numeral erou 'two', and the trial suffix -taj with esej 'three'.
4. One of my informants (Deto Wimaie) said that the -rau termination is used by speakers in the east of the island and the -rou termination by speakers in the west.
5. The preposing of /i/ seems to be a regular morphophonemic process in the language to break up an unacceptable initial consonant cluster: note the discussion in 5.2.1. regarding the echo-subject prefix m-, which becomes im- before verbs or preverbal morphemes beginning with a consonant.
6. This variation between elpu- and ilpu- is an example of the more general fluctuation between /i/ and /e/, which was discussed in 1.2. above.
7. The form etpo- 'grandparent' shows an intrusive /r/ in the plural formation - ilpur-etpo-n 'his grandparent' for **ilpu-etpo-n.
8. "The following is the list [of now non-productive prefixes] worked out by Kern, with the meanings provisionally assigned to them ... [but] without the diachronic comparisons made by him" (C:32-33):
 1. aha- ~ ahe- ~ oh- "makes reference to time and space relationships. Kern says '(they) serve to indicate that the action in the stem takes in a stretch of time or spreads over a certain space'" (C:35). Examples: ahboi 'slap', ahbobo 'clap', ahpeto 'grow a second time', aheled 'sail'.
 2. a + nasal: imperfective. Examples: agrei 'break, as waves', agsei 'pluck leaves', amtim 'mock'.
 3. ava-: causative. "Kern says 'this is only a prefix in appearance, really nothing but a variant pronunciation of aua, 'make', 'cause'" (C:35). In modern Anejom, forms with ava-, awa-, and awo- can be recognised: avahpak 'bruise', avaktit 'take by force', awanipif 'smell', awonemtan 'buy', awotyatamafi 'perform in the manner of a man', etc.
 4. eh-, "occasionally ah-, has two uses, desiderative and directive. The latter is primary, 'direct oneself to' the idea indicated by the stem" (C:35). Examples: ehtowou 'fight', ehtijipe 'be envious', ehtele 'be hungry'.
 5. ehc- ~ ahc-, probably derived from POC *paka-, is a causative: ehcohos 'appear', ehcil 'join, splice'.

6. ehr-, probably from POC *paRi-, is reciprocal: ehramen 'live together', ehriciñ 'eat together', ehrtaga 'go together'.
7. Capell and Kern record imi- ~ imy- as a causative, but it also appears to have a comitative sense: imyapam 'bring' (cf. apam 'come'), imyapan 'take along' (cf. apan 'go'), imyatii 'cause to put' (cf. atii 'put'), imyedou 'take for a walk' (cf. edou 'wander').
8. ta- "the common Austronesian prefix of spontaneity, is found petrified in certain words" (C:36): talulu 'drown', talala 'pass out of sight', taliek 'be bad, ruined'.
9. The older speaker referred to is Thomas Niditauae, who worked with me in Tanna in 1975. The younger speaker, Deto Wima, worked with me in Port Moresby in 1981.
10. In the trial, Inglis (1882) gave only taijis for all persons. Capell, however, isolated the first exclusive, second, and third person forms from Bible translations, and extrapolates the first inclusive (which is thus shown in square brackets). Inglis has intis for the first inclusive plural, but since this is homophonous with the dual form it is probable that it is a misprint and that Capell's form is correct.
11. Capell gives the forms eti and ti, but itiyi seems to be the common modern negative.
12. Note the morphophonemic change here in ehelo-m for expected **ehele-m.
13. One informant suggested that the difference between inhe and nevitai was that inhe was used specifically if one was pointing at or indicating an object, or if it was in sight, whereas nevitai had a more general use. Note also that the fluctuation between /e/ and /i/ mentioned in 1.2. above occurs very frequently with nevitai, nivitai being almost as commonly heard.
14. Compare the discussion in 2.2. regarding the noun-marker n- (before vowels) ~ in- (before consonants). That the /i/ in the form im- is epenthetic was not noticed by previous analysts, who thus took im- to be the same morpheme as the conjunction joining noun phrases, and saw m- as merely a reduced form of this.
15. It is probable that elet derives from an earlier el (conditional) + et (3rd singular aorist). Inglis (1882:38) gives, for the 'subjunctive' singular, the forms elek (1st), el an (2nd), and el et (3rd).
16. For an explanation of the possessive as subject, see 5.3.

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A TIKOPIA PHONOLOGY

Daniel D. Dodenhoff

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a phonemic analysis of the Tikopia language. A description is given of the phoneme, syllable, word and phrase levels.

Tikopia is a 'Polynesian Outlier' in the British Solomon Islands. It is located at approximately 12° S 169° E. The island is 2.25 square miles of inactive volcano surrounded by a coral reef. The crater contains a fresh water lake which covers about one-fourth of the total area, mountains cover about half and level sandy beaches cover the remaining fourth of the island.

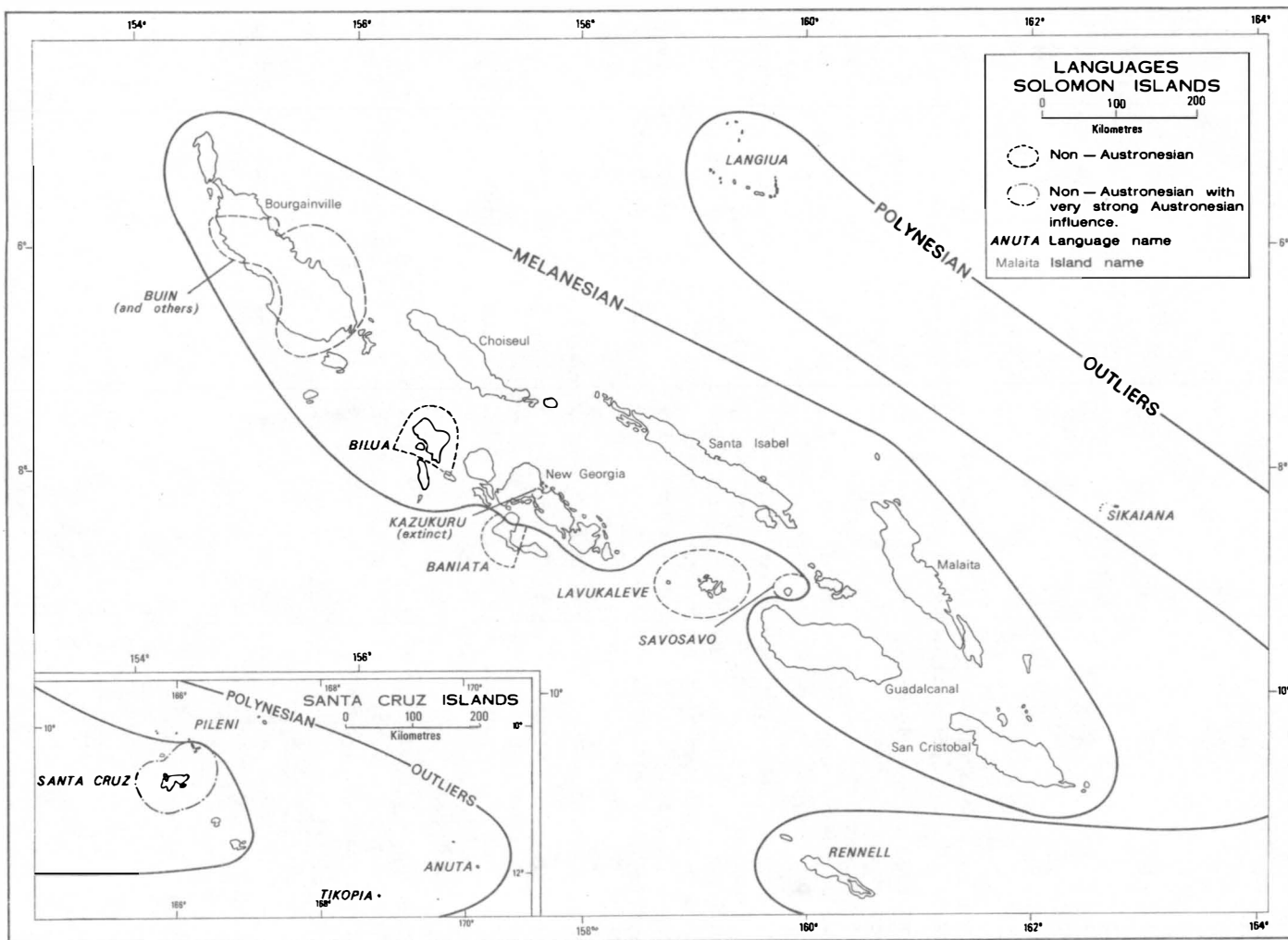
The speech community at present (1975) is about 2000, although some estimates are as high as 5000. About 1000 live on Tikopia, 500 in the Russell Islands, 400 on San Cristobal, 100 in Honiara and a small group on Vanikoro. Because these colonies were started in this generation there is little or no difference in dialects. There is little bilingualism on Tikopia but almost everyone in the colonies speaks Solomonese, the Melanesian-English creole which is the lingua franca of the Solomon Islands.

The previous work on Tikopia is best summarised by Biggs (1971)

Tikopia culture is better known than that of any other Polynesian society but published study of the language is limited to a rather inadequate wordlist (Durrad 1926-7) and an article on the existence of *l* and *r* (Firth 1963), an unusual phonemic feature in Polynesia.

The description which follows comes from data collected in the field during the (southern) academic year of 1974, while the author was engaged in linguistic and ethnomusicological research in the British Solomon Islands.

The author is indebted to the Tikopia of Nukufero, Russell Islands; Nukukaisi, San Cristobal; Honiara, Guadalcanal and Namo, Tikopia. Assistance was mainly provided by Mark Vaka, Aron Teoqa and Philip Koria although many Tikopia were helpful on linguistic matters.



2. PHONEME LEVEL

2.1. Phoneme chart

2.1.1. Consonants

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Velar
Stops	p	t	k
Nasals	m	n	ŋ
Lateral		l	
Trill		r	
Fricatives	f	s	
	v		

2.1.2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Higher	i		u
Lower	e	a	o

2.1.3. Description of contrastive features

There are eleven consonant phonemes in Tikopia which contrast in manner of articulation between stops, nasals, lateral, trill and fricatives.

Stops and nasals contrast in point of articulation as to labial, dental-alveolar, and velar. The lateral occurs at dental point of articulation, the trill at alveolar. The fricatives occur at labial and alveolar points of articulation.

There is contrast between front and back vowels as to higher and lower tongue positions. The lower central vowel occurs with the tongue in the neutral or non-flexed position and contrasts with front and back vowels as to flexed positions.

2.2. Description

2.2.1. Consonant contrasts

The following consonants contrast in word initial and medial positions.

The trill and lateral
/r/ and /l/

/lau/	['lau]	'dance'
/rau/	['rau]	'leaf'
/solo/	['so o]	'melt'
/soro/	['soʀo]	'whet axe'

The alveolar and velar nasals

/n/ and /ŋ/

/nau/	['nau]	'mother'
/ŋau/	['ŋau]	'chew'
/mana/	['mana]	'father'
/maŋa/	['maŋa]	'fork in tree'

The voiced and voiceless labiodental fricatives

/f/ and /v/

/vaka/	['vaka]	'canoe'
/faka/	['faka]	'very'
/tovi/	['t̥ovi]	'boat'
/tofi/	['t̥ofi]	'garden'

The dental stop and alveolar grooved fricative

/t/ and /s/

/se/	['se]	'not'
/te/	['t̥e]	'the'
/fetari/	[fe't̥aɾi]	'wait'
/esari/	[e'saɾi]	'gave'

2.2.2. Consonant variants

The oral stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ occur word initial and medially. Each has an aspirated allophone (p^h), (t^h) and (k^h) which occur preceeding the high back vowel /u/.

/p/ (p^h) voiceless bilabial aspirated stop

(p) voiceless bilabial stop

/pe/	['pe]	'throw'
/tupa/	['t̥ ^h upa]	'white crab'
/puna/	['p ^h una]	'grandfather'
/fakanupu/	['faka'nup ^h u]	'draw water'

/t/ (t^h) voiceless dental aspirated stop

(t̥) voiceless dental stop

/te/	['t̥e]	'the'
/fetari/	[fe't̥aɾi]	'wait'
/tu/	['t̥ ^h u]	'cut'
/fatu/	['fa ^h t̥u]	'stone'

/k/ (k^h) voiceless velar aspirated stop

(k) voiceless velar stop

/kasi/	['kasi]	'spoon'
/kuka/	['k ^h uka]	'embers'
/mauku/	['mauk ^h u]	'grass'

The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ has a semivowel allophone (w) which occurs medially following the high back vowel /u/.

/v/ (v) voiced labiodental fricative

(w) voiced high back rounded semivowel

/tovi/	['tovi]	'boat'
/tauvi/	['tauwi]	'buy'
/vai	['vai]	'water'

The following consonants each have a single allophone, the phonetic norm, which occur initially and medially.

/m/ (m) voiced bilabial nasal

/ma/	['ma]	'and'
/mama/	['mama]	'priest'

/n/ (n) voiced alveolar nasal

/na/	['na]	'his'
/mana/	['mana]	'father'

/ŋ/ (ŋ) voiced velar nasal

/ŋa/	['ŋa]	'the'
/maŋa/	['maŋa]	'fork in tree'

/l/ (l) voiced lateral

/laoi/	['laoi]	'good'
/solo/	['so o]	'melt'

/r/ (ʀ) voiced alveolar trill

/ro/	['ʀo]	'ant'
/soro/	['soʀo]	'whet axe'

/f/ (f) voiceless labiodental fricative

/fai/	['fai]	'try'
/tofi/	['tofi]	'garden'

/s/ (s) voiceless alveolar grooved fricative

/se/	['se]	'not'
/lasi/	['lasi]	'big'

2.2.3. Vowel contrasts

The five vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ contrast with each other in the peak slot of syllables occurring in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/i/ /e/ /a/ /o/ /u/

/ki/	['ki]	'to'
/ke/	['ke]	'you'
/ka/	['ka]	'future'

	/ko/	['ko]	'name'
	/ku/	['k ^h u]	'past progressive'
	/tautari/	[tau'ta ^h i]	'stalk'
	/tare/	['ta ^h e]	'cough'
	/para/	['pa ^h a]	'sore'
	/taro/	['ta ^h o]	'taro'
	/maru/	['ma ^h u]	'speaker'
/i/ and /e/			
	/ki/	['ki]	'to'
	/ke/	['ke]	'you'
	/tare/	['ta ^h e]	'cough'
	/tautari/	[tau'ta ^h i]	'stalk'
/e/ and /a/			
	/pera/	['pe ^h a]	'type of taro'
	/para/	['pa ^h a]	'sore'
	/kave/	['kave]	'sibling'
	/kava/	['kava]	'kava drink' made from root of a plant
/a/ and /o/			
	/tosi/	['to ^h si]	'drag'
	/tasi/	['ta ^h si]	'one'
	/pito/	['pi ^h to]	'navel'
	/pita/	['pi ^h ta]	'type of leaf'
/u/ and /o/			
	/tofi/	['to ^h fi]	'garden'
	/tufi/	['tu ^h fi]	'pick'
	/maru/	['ma ^h u]	'speaker'
	/maro/	['ma ^h o]	'man's loin cloth' (from bark Broussonetia papyrifera)

2.2.4. Vowel variants

Each of the three lower vowels /e/, /a/ and /o/ has two allophones which occur in free variation.

/e/ /ɛ/ mid open front unrounded vocoid

/e/ mid close front unrounded vocoid

/peti/	['peti] ~ ['pe ^h ti]	'fat'
/emao/	[e'mao] ~ [ɛ'mao]	'far from'
/te/	['te] ~ ['tɛ]	'the'

/a/	/ʌ/	low close central unrounded vocoid	
/a/		low open central unrounded vocoid	
/taka/		[ˈtaka] ~ [ˈtʌkʌ]	'young'
/muna/		[ˈmuna] ~ [ˈmunʌ]	'speak'
/o/	(ɔ)	mid open back rounded vocoid	
	(o)	mid close back rounded vocoid	
/soro/		[ˈsoʔo] ~ [ˈsɔʔo]	'rub'
/foŋa/		[ˈfoŋa] ~ [ˈfɔŋa]	'above'

Each of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ has a single allophone which occurs in the peak slot of stressed and unstressed syllables.

/i/	(i)	voiced high close front unrounded vocoid	
/i/		[ˈi]	'in'
/tofi/		[ˈtofi]	'garden'
/u/	(u)	voiced high close back rounded vocoid	
/u/		[ˈu]	'crab'
/maru/		[ˈmaʔu]	'speaker'

3. SYLLABLE LEVEL

For Tikopia, a syllable is defined as a single mora of length consisting of a nucleus of one or two vowels with an optional onset of a single consonant.

3.1. Syllable contrasts

There are four emic syllable types /V/, /VV/, /CV/ and /CVV/ which contrast in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/V/	/o/	[ˈo]	'of'
/VV/	/ao/	[ˈao]	'no'
/CV/	/te/	[ˈte]	'the'
/CVV/	/sea/	[ˈsea]	'what'
/V/	/esari/	[eˈsaʔi]	'flow'
/VV/	/laoi/	[ˈlaoi]	'good'
/CV/	/toru/	[ˈtoʔu]	'three'
/CVV/	/maroa/	[ˈmaʔoa]	'bachelor'

3.2. Distribution of phonemes into the syllable

Any consonant may occur in the onset slot of syllables. Any vowel may occur in the peak of syllables with all vowel combinations occurring in complex nuclei except combinations of like vowels.

4. PHONOLOGICAL WORD LEVEL

The phonological word is a stress group within which syllables are distributed and it is itself distributed within the phonological phrase. It is composed of an obligatory nucleus with optional preceeding and/or following margins. Primary stress (') occurs once in each phonological word, predictably on the penultimate syllable of each morpheme occupying the nuclear position. Reduplicated words behave as two separate words in this respect. Primary stress is phonetically defined by slightly higher pitch, intensity and length.

Any syllable type may occur as a monosyllabic phonological word. There is no restriction of distribution of the syllable types /V/, /VV/, /CV/ or /CVV/ in the phonological word.

/V/ occurs in nuclear and margins

/ara/	['aʔa]	'road'
/kia/	['kia]	'to that'
/elaoi/	[e'laoi]	'good'

/VV/ occurs in nuclear and margins

/eisu/	['eisu]	'painful'
/maea/	['maea]	'rope'
/atuaifaea/	[aʔhʷai'faea]	'octopus'

/CV/ and /CVV/ occur in nuclear and margin

/kuefu/	['khuefu]	'dissolve'
/matua/	['maʔhʷua]	'bachelor'
/pearakau/	[pea'ʔakau]	'raft'
/kupeŋa/	[kʰupeŋa]	'fish net'

5. PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE LEVEL

5.1. Phonological phrase

The phonological phrase or pause group is the unit consisting of words and is itself distributed within the phonological sentence or final pause.

The nucleus of the phonological phrase is the nuclear syllable of the first phonological word. That nuclear syllable contains the loudest and longest vowel, and the one highest in pitch.

5.2. Contrastive phonological phrase types

There are three emic phonological phrase types /./, /,/ and /?/ which contrast as to melody and meaning.

5.2.1. Statement phrases

/./ and /./ contrast by the relative rise or fall of pitch on the last syllable before pause. A rising pitch signals more information to come before final pause which is indicated by a falling pitch on the last syllable. There is no limit to the phonological sentence but the norm observed is two non-final preceding the final phrase.

'tera 'koke e'masi ma'matu, 'marie 'mua, 'penia 'mau 'kafai
 that you should think slow first think we do

5.2.2. Interrogative phrases

/??/ question intonation contrasts with the above in melody and meaning. It consists of a rising from a midpitch on the first stressed syllable to a high pitch then falling to a low on the last syllable of the phrase.

'sea?
 what
 'kuai na iŋoa?
 who his name

6. MORPHOPHONEMICS

6.1. Elision

Elision occurs between root and minor morphemes within the phonological word. Vowels of the same quality in close transition are never rearticulated, the two adjacent vowels of the same quality become a single vowel of normal length in normal speech.

/kau/	['ka ¹ au]	'come, future'
/arara/	['a ¹ ra ¹ a ¹ ra]	'make story'

6.2. Vowel loss

Vowel loss occurs in rapid speech, most often in reduplicated forms when a stop is preceded by a front vowel.

/poŋipoŋi/	[poŋ'poŋi]	'morning'
/pesepese/	[pes'pese]	'sing'

7. ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESES

7.1. Stress and vowel length

Stress occurs on the nucleus of each phonological word with the effect of rising pitch, intensity and adding slightly to the length of the vowel.

Vowel length does not occur in my phonetic data but has been recorded in the language as follows:

Rev. W.J. Durrad recorded length twice, from fieldwork May and June 1910;

(ma'tea) 'great, many, vary'
(ma'etua) 'husband' note also (matua) 'wife'

and from Raymond Firth, fieldwork 1928-9 and 1952, recorded length contrastive once. (Firth 1963)

(la'la') 'plenty'
(lala) 'hymen, small vulva'

Firth states "long vowels occur in some other words also but are not marked because they are not contrasted with similar words with short vowels".

I have checked the examples from Durrad and found that the word (ma'tea) 'much' when occurring in normal speech has no vowel length and normal stress. However, the word when occurring in isolation, especially at a time of excitement, could be said to have length on the first syllable. I prefer to regard this as stress which may be intensified in exclamations.

The second example [ma'etua] 'husband' is now pronounced consistently as [ma'tua] 'spouse'.

The example from Firth which shows contrast may have been a loan word, or length as a contrastive feature may have become obsolete. At present there is no (la'la') 'plenty' and the (lala) 'small vulva' is used only as profanity.

Vowel length also occurs when an isolated vowel is functioning as a word, especially in reply. This is also predictable.

/a/	[a] or [a']	'yes, I told you so'
/e/	[e] or [e']	'you don't say, wow'

In the literature it is best not to double vowels to show exclamations although one informant insisted on using double letters instead of using the (!) exclamation mark.

One other variation not included is the [A] 'yes', [A] voiceless low open central unrounded vocoid with ingressive lung air. This is used as a synonym of /a/ 'yes' when close to a speaker.

7.2. Vowel allophones

It is likely the vowel allophones are restricted to certain environments. Because little transcription was made in the first three months, when the author began transcribing he was 'semi-emic' and only recorded very obvious variations. An environment of high or fronted sounds seems to pull [a] to [ʌ], [o] goes to [ɔ] with backed sounds and [r], [e] seems to go to [ɛ] contiguous with phonemes where the midpart of the tongue is neutral, and other vowels seem to influence [e].

8. ORTHOGRAPHY

Phoneme	Allophones	Orthography
/p/	[p], [pʰ]	p
/t/	[t̪], [t̪ʰ]	t
/k/	[k], [kʰ]	k

Phoneme	Allophones	Orthography
/m/	[m]	m
/n/	[n]	n
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	ng
/l/	[l]	l
/r/	[ʀ]	r
/f/	[f]	f
/v/	[v], [w]	v
/s/	[s]	s
/i/	[i]	i
/e/	[e], [ɛ]	e
/a/	[a], [ʌ]	a
/o/	[o], [ɔ]	o
/u/	[u]	u
/,/	[,]	,
/./	[.]	.
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	ʔ

9. SAMPLE TEXT

Phonetic	'anea 'et̩au 'faŋa 't̩asi 'kefai, 'kape 'siei. 'sea na'tamai
Orthographic	anea etau fangatasi kefai, kape siei. sea na tamai
Word meaning	things should do or no what reason
Translation	Things that I should do or not do. What motives

'k^huou 'kafai 'koa 'nea 'faka 'peŋa, 'kape 'siei. 'tera 'koke e'masi ma'na^hu,
kuou kafai ko a nea fakapera, kape siei. tera koke emasi manatu,
I do name the thing thus or no. that you should think
do I have for decisions. That you should think about

'penia 'mau 'kafai. 'koke ka'vaŋa, 'kape 'siei? ma'na^hu 'maŋie. ma'na^hu 'koke
penia mau kafai. koke kavanga, kape siei? manatu marie. manatu koke
things we do. you marry or not. think slow think you
your actions. Should you marry or not? Think slowly. You must think

'kafai, 'te ta'ŋata e'masi 'pena 'pena 'faka 'laoi. 'penia 'mana 'kafai 'keau 'laoi.
kafai, te tangata emasi penapena fakalaoi. penia ma na kafai keau laoi.
do the man should prepare very good. things and he do come good.
because the man must be well prepared. Then everything will work out.

'sea na'tamai 'khuou 'kapoi ki'fāke 'nofo 'raga, 'sea 'tea 'laoi, 'khuou 'kaono
 sea na tamai kuou kapoi ki rake noforanga, sea te a laoi, kuou kaono
what reason I go to other place what the good I see
What if I want to go to another country, what reason I have to

'kiei. 'khuou ka'sepoi, 'ania 'kau 'favea 'sea 'te pa'fiki 'kau. 'tefa 'koke
 ki ei. kuou ka se poi, ania kau ravea sea te pariki kau. tera koke
to it. I will not go things come see what the bad come now you
go see it. I do not know what comes next, maybe something bad happens. Therefore

e'masi ma'natu, 'mafie 'mua, 'penia 'mua 'kafai.
 emasi manatu, marie mua, penia mua kafai.
should think slow first things we do.
you should think carefully before acting.

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